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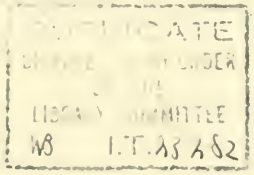
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Page 147.—A good example of the perforated wedge-shaped stone hammer, found in the Tay, near Newburgh, is figured, Proceedings Soc. Antiqu. Scot., vol. viii., p. 264.

Page 169.—Some further particulars relating to the ivory casket at Bodmin may be found, Proceedings Soc. Antiqu. Lond., second series, vol. v., p. 87.

Page 170, line 24, add—also a collection of Skippets from the Muniment Room, Westminster Abbey, figured at p. 134.

Page 174.—The Roman vestiges found at Lidney are noticed more fully, Proceedings Soc. Ant. Lond., second series, vol. v. p. 96.

Page 219.—After the heading of the memoir, add the author's name, J. H. Parker, M.A., F.S.A., &c.

Page 249, line 14. *For* "hoisted," *read* "twisted."

Page 249.—See also notices of the Garston *flagellum*, Trans. Lancashire and Cheshire Soc., N.S., vol. xi. p. 141.

The Archæological Journal.

MARCH, 1871.

EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.[1]

By J. WINTER JONES, F.S.A., Principal Librarian and Secretary of the British Museum.

The history of printing is a large subject, comprehending many branches, each of which would require much more time for its discussion than could be given to it on the present occasion. I do not, therefore, propose to do more than to touch upon a few of the many interesting points it involves, and to offer such remarks as appear to me to admit of the widest application.

Learned and ingenious men have occupied themselves from time to time during upwards of three hundred years in endeavouring to decide upon the country which is entitled to the honor of being the birth-place of printing. Dutchmen have been loud in asserting the claims of Haarlem, and Germans have been no less earnest on behalf of Mentz; while the learned of other countries have advocated the claims of either city. A Dutchman, Hadrianus Junius, commenced the discussion about 1569 by bringing forward arguments and documents in favour of Haarlem. Another Dutchman, Dr. Van der Linde, seems likely to terminate the discussion by his exhaustive work, De Haarlemsche Costerlegende wetenschappelijk ondersocht, a second edition of which was published in 1870, in which he proves that Junius's facts are no facts, that many of his documents are myths, that Haarlem has no claim at all, and that all the evidence is in favour of Mentz. Under these circumstances I may well pass on to other subjects, merely stating that one great argument in favour of Dr. Linde's views is that the

[1] A discourse delivered May 5, 1871, upon the collection of Printed Books exhibited in the rooms of the Institute.

earliest books known bearing dates and the names of printers were produced at Mentz and not at Haarlem.

As my object is to confine myself as much as possible to established facts, I shall pass over the commonly received history of the manner in which moveable types were first produced, namely, that they were first cut in wood, of course slowly and laboriously, that they were then cut still more laboriously in metal, and that the third step was the discovery of the art of cutting punches and casting types in a matrix. We are told on the one hand that some of the earliest books were certainly printed from wooden types, while others assert that to cut wooden types for printing books would be practically impossible. I may say that I have long entertained this latter opinion.

However produced, the first printing types were generally cut in imitation of the recognized or set hand-writing of the period and country, as can be verified by reference to manuscripts. The result of this practice is that the early specimens of printing display a striking national character, and one of the most interesting features of an exhibition of the early specimens of the presses of different countries is the opportunity which such an exhibition affords of tracing this national individuality.

Of the artists by whom the types were cut we know little: but it is most probable that goldsmiths, who were the workers in metal of those days, were employed for this important purpose. The best engravers in metal would be the best able to cut the types or punches. And this I believe to be the true, or at least one great cause of the connection between Gutenberg and Fust, and not merely Gutenberg's poverty, as is generally stated. Fust was a goldsmith, and his artistic skill would be more important even than his money. We get occasional glimpses of this practice. In an action brought against Gutenberg in 1439 by the representatives of a deceased partner, one Hans Dünne, a goldsmith, gave evidence to the effect that three years previously, or thereabouts, he had earned from Gutenberg about 100 florins for work relating to printing.

Again, the first book printed at Florence with a date, perhaps the first book printed there at all, was entitled Servii Commentarii in Virgilium: it was commenced in 1471, and finished in October, 1472. The printer, Bernardo

Cennini, is described as *Aurifex omnium judicio præstantissimus.*

In 1501 Aldus printed his first edition of Virgil, using for it his beautiful Italic type for the first time, and at the end of his preface adds these three lines, which he entitles—

"In grammatoglyptæ laudem."

Qui Graiis dedit Aldus, en Latinis
Dat nunc grammata, scalpta Dædaleis
Francisci manibus Bononiensis.

And Soncino, in the dedication to Duke Valentino of his edition of the lyric poems of Petrarch, states that all the types used by Aldus, as well Greek as Hebrew and Latin, had been cut by this Francesco da Bologna.

The question who was Francesco da Bologna had never been decided until Sir Anthony Panizzi, in a monograph privately printed in 1858, proved that Francesco da Bologna and Francesco Raibolini, commonly called Francia, the celebrated painter, were one and the same person; and it is well known that Francia was a goldsmith, and was in the habit of signing his pictures with his name and description, "Aurifaber" and "Aurifex."

I have already said that the earliest types generally present a close imitation of the hand-writing of the period. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule. The most striking is the first book printed in Paris. It was produced by three Germans, named Michal Crantz, Ulric Gering and Martin Freiburger, and was printed at the Sorbonne about 1470. It consists of the Liber Epistolarum of Gasparinus Barzizius, and is printed in the Roman character. The book concludes with the following lines:—

Primos ecce libros quos hæc industria finxit
Francorum in terris ædibus atque tuis.
Michael, Udalricus, Martinusque magistri
Hos impresserunt, ac facient alios.

And they did so, printing several others in the Roman character; but as other printers established themselves in Paris the practice was discontinued, and the Gothic character prevailed. In Germany the Roman character was not introduced until 1472, when Gunther Zainer, of Augsburg, used it for his edition of the Etymologiæ of Isidore of Seville.

In Italy the first book printed in Roman type is the Epistolæ ad familiares of Cicero, printed at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz in 1467. This was also the first book printed in Rome. In England the Roman character was first used by Pynson in 1509, who printed in that type some parts of his Sermo Fratris Hieronymi de Ferrara; and his edition of the Oratio Ricardi Pacei, printed in 1518, is said to be the first book in which it is wholly used in England.

The processes of the early printers would naturally be simple. They did not use large sheets of paper and fold them twice or more to form quartos, octavos, &c., but merely folded their paper once, thus making folios or quartos (to use modern terms) according to the size of the sheet of paper. Three or more of these sheets were laid one within another, and formed gatherings or quires, each sheet after the first in each gathering being called an inlay. This printing by gatherings was adopted for the convenience of binding. The consequence of this practice would be that the printer would either print one page at a time or two, but no more. If two he would have to divide the matter to be printed into portions sufficient for twelve, sixteen, or twenty pages, according to the number of sheets in each gathering, and then print, say the first and the twelfth, then the second and the eleventh, and so on, and the result of this practice is occasionally seen in an inequality in the length of the pages, particularly in the centre inlay, which would be printed last, and therefore either have too much or too little matter if the calculation of the necessary quantity had not been exact.

The question of punctuation is one which deserves a few minutes' attention. For some years after the introduction of printing the ordinary practice in this respect was very simple. A straight stroke passing through the line obliquely generally indicated a pause, and a full point closed a paragraph. A colon was occasionally used. The exceptions to this practice were few. The Lactantius, printed at the monastery of Subiaco, in the Campagna di Roma, in 1465, the first book printed in Italy, has a full point, colon, and note of interrogation. There are also two books which are in advance of all others in this respect. One is the Liber Epistolarum of Gasparinus, before mentioned as being the first book printed in France, about 1470. It contains the full point, semicolon, comma, parenthesis, note of interroga-

tion, and note of admiration. But the semicolon appears to have more force than the full point, for while it is used reversed indiscriminately with the full point in the middle or at the end of a sentence, it is alone used at the end of a chapter or of a heading to a chapter, and then turned as we use it now. The other early book with these points is the Philogenia of Ugolino Pisani, a dramatic composition in ten acts, printed in Germany between the years 1470 and 1480.

The necessity of some guide for the proper arrangement of the leaves was not met until the year 1470. In that year Arnoldus Verhoernen, of Cologne, introduced pagination by numbering the leaves of his edition of the Sermo ad Populum. In the following year he printed the Liber de remediis utriusque fortunæ of Adrianus Carthusianus, in which he placed the pagination in the centre of the right margin of each leaf.

Signatures were used by the copyists of manuscripts long before the introduction of printing, but the early printers neglected them. The earliest instance we have of them is in the Præceptorium divinæ legis of Joannes Nider, printed at Cologne by Johan Koelhof in 1472.

Catchwords were introduced about the same time in the first edition of Tacitus, printed by Vindelin de Spira at Venice, and it is possible that the signatures were not considered necessary where catchwords were used, they answering the same purpose, that of showing the proper sequence of the leaves. There was not at this early period any uniformity of practice among printers, nor was any improvement introduced by one followed by others. There does not in fact appear to have been much communication between the printers of different countries or localities.

The last step to the completion of a book according to modern notions was made in 1487, by the printing of the "Confessionale" of Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, with a title-page. This book was printed probably by Martin Flach at Strasburg. But an approach to a title-page was made as early as 1476, at Venice, by Bernardus Pictor, Petrus Loslein, and Erhardus Ratdolt, who in that year printed an edition of the Calendarium of Johann Müller (commonly called Regiomontanus or Monteregio from the fact that he was a native of Königsberg), to which they prefixed a leaf containing ten lines of Latin verse, ending with

the date and names of the printers. This was one of the earliest calendars, and the title or announcement is so peculiar that I venture to read it in full :—

Aureus hic liber est, non est pretiosior alla
Gemma Calendario, quod docet istud opus
Aureus hic numerus, lunæ, solisque labores
Monstrantur facile : cunctaque signa poli :
Quotquot sub hoc libro terræ per longa regantur
Tempora : quisque dies, mensis et annus erit.
Scitur in instanti quæcunque sit hora diei.
Hunc emat astrologus qui velit esse cito.
Hoc Ioannes opus regio de monte probatum
Composuit, tota notus in Italia.
Quod Veneta impressum fuit in tellure per illos
Inferius quorum nomine picta loco.
1476.

Then follow the names of the printers, the whole enclosed in an elegant floral border. In the same year they printed an Italian and a German edition of the same work with a similar title. I am not aware that this example was repeated or followed by other printers until the year 1487, as mentioned above.

I have already said that established facts are all in favour of Mentz being entitled to the honour of having produced the earliest specimens of typography. I may here enumerate the few books of the date of which there can be no doubt up to the year 1462. A Bible, a copy of which, found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin, and therefore called the Mazarine Bible, first attracted the attention of bibliographers, although printed without the name of either place or printer, is by universal consent assigned to Mentz, and is generally considered to have issued from the press of Gutenberg and Fust. The date is approximatively proved by a contemporaneous memorandum written in the copy in the National Library in Paris to the effect that that copy was illuminated, bound, and completed by Henry Cremer, Vicar of the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen, in Mentz, in the year 1456. The book may, therefore, be reasonably supposed to have been printed not later than 1455, and probably three or four years earlier. The earliest document with a date is an Indulgence granted by Pope Nicholas V. to all those who should aid the King of Cyprus against the Turks, and is dated 1455. This was most probably printed in Mentz. The next book is commonly called the Mentz

Psalter, because printed in that city, and bears date 1457. It is the first book which was dated, and was printed by Fust and Schœffer. In the initial letters of this book we have the earliest specimen of printing in colours, and the earliest and for many years almost the only specimen of printing initial letters at all, for the custom long prevailed of leaving out the initial letters of paragraphs, or indicating them by a small letter, in order that they might be filled in by the illuminator. Two years afterwards, that is, in the month of August, 1459, a second edition of this psalter was printed in Mentz, also with a date, and in the same year, in the month of October, was printed the Rationale divinorum officiorum of Durandus, Bishop of Meaux. This was followed, in the year 1460, by the Catholicon of Giovanni Balbi, commonly called Joannes de Janua, the printing of which is attributed to Gutenberg, and the Constitutiones Clementis Papæ, printed by Fust and Schœffer. In the year 1462 was produced the first Bible with a date, printed by Fust and Schœffer at Mentz, and also a German version.

This list includes all the books which bear a date up to the year 1462; others may have been printed during the period, but the date can only be conjectured.

No book is known bearing the date of 1463 or 1464. This circumstance is attributed to the war between Adolph von Nassau and Diether von Isenburg, the two rival archbishops of Mentz. The former obtained possession of Mentz, and sacked the city in 1462. The printers were dispersed, and printing slumbered for the next two years. The wandering printers settled in different places on the continent, spreading a knowledge of their art wherever they went, but especially in Italy. In Rome there were more than twenty Germans who printed, from the year 1465 to 1480. In Venice there were upwards of twenty Germans, whose books are dated from 1469 to 1480. In Naples there were eight Germans and one Belgian, and in Padua eight Germans and one Dutchman up to the year 1480. There were about 110 Germans exercising their craft prior to the year 1480 in twenty-seven different cities. About the year 1480 there were established in Italy alone not less than forty printing presses in as many places, whilst in Germany there were only fifteen. Printing was introduced also into France and Spain by the Germans, who likewise came into England and

worked at Oxford and in London, and possibly also at St. Albans, soon after Caxton set up his press in Westminster Abbey.

Some writers have laid great stress upon paper marks, and have founded upon them theories as to the country in which certain books may have been printed. But no guides could be more fallacious. A great deal of paper was made in Italy and in the Low Countries, and supplied thence to Germany, France, and England. The first paper mill erected in England was established at Hertford, by one John Tate, in the reign of Henry VII.; and the first book printed on English-made paper was John Trevisa's English translation of the De Proprietatibus Rerum of Bartholomeus de Glantvilla, printed by Wynkyn de Worde at Westminster, about the year 1495, at least twenty years after the introduction of printing into England.

Block books, that is, books the pages of which were printed from blocks of wood, having the subjects of the pages carved or cut upon them, possess a peculiar interest, as being the immediate precursors of books printed from moveable types. Those that have come down to us are somewhat numerous, when we consider the laborious nature of their production—between thirty and forty, without reckoning specimens of xylography, consisting of a single plate. These latter have generally been preserved by having been pasted inside the covers of books. Impressions were not obtained by means of printing-presses; but, after the face of the block had been inked, the paper was laid upon it, and the impression was obtained by rubbing the back of the paper with an instrument made for the purpose.

The earliest specimen of a *block* impression known—that is, the earliest specimen of the date of which there is no doubt—is a representation of St. Christopher bearing the infant Saviour over a stream, with the date 1423. This piece was discovered by the learned German, Heinecken, in the Carthusian monastery of Buxheim, near Memmingen, and is now in the library of Lord Spencer. In 1844 there was announced the discovery, at Malines, of a wood engraving, in the lid of an old coffer, representing the Virgin and Child, surrounded by the saints Catherine, Barbara, Dorothea, and Margaret, and bearing the date 1418. This was immediately secured for the Royal Library at Brussels, by

the Baron de Reiffenberg, who published a long and interesting account of it. The genuineness of the date of this piece has, however, been doubted by several competent judges, and it is not now, I believe, shown to visitors. The Christopher may still, therefore, be regarded as the earliest-dated block impression known.

The latest xylographic production is a small work consisting of sixty-three leaves, entitled Opera Nova Contemplativa: Figure del Testamento Vecchio; printed at Venice, by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, about the year 1510. The latest, with a date, is a German edition of the Biblia Pauperum, dated 1475. During the intermediate period, from 1423, a great number of block books were produced, of which the most popular were the Biblia Pauperum and the Ars Moriendi, each of which passed through several editions.

One of the rarest block books is the Defensorium Inviolatæ Virginitatis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, printed in 1471. It consists of twenty-seven leaves, twenty-three of which contain two subjects each, with descriptive lines beneath, proving the possibility of the immaculate conception by reference to the wonders of nature and remarkable events chronicled in Albertus Magnus and other writers, Christian and pagan; such as—that if a newly born child can open locks with a touch—if the companions of Diomedes were turned into birds—if a lion can resuscitate its offspring by roaring, &c.—why should not a virgin conceive?

Of all the block books the Biblia Pauperum is the largest and the most important. It consists of forty plates, printed, or rather taken off, on one side of the paper, in the manner above described. It has passed through several editions, which are evidently copies by different artists, and in one or two instances show the style of different countries. It is supposed, and I believe correctly, that all the known exemplars were produced in the fifteenth century. The object of the work is to show the foreshadowing of the leading incidents in the life of our Saviour by prophecies and typical events in the Old Testament. Each plate contains a central picture of an incident in the life of Christ, with three rhyming Latin verses in explanation underneath, and, at each corner, a text from one of the Prophets. The typical events in the Old Testament are represented in two pictures, with the text, one on either side of the central design. The result

is a pictorial exposition of Gospel history, calculated to impress itself lastingly on the memory. The same intention is shown in works of the thirteenth century, only found in manuscript. In these, Bible history is explained by pictorial designs, accompanied by the texts, each subject being represented in two pictures—the type and antitype.

In all the printed impressions this arrangement of the three subjects prevails, and is generally followed in the manuscripts, of which there are several, dating from the end of the fourteenth century downwards. There have been many speculations as to the original designer of this book, but I am not aware that these speculations have led to any practical conclusion. The oldest compositions of which I am aware, of the same character as those in the Biblia Pauperum, are representations in enamel on an Antependium in the St. Leopold Chapel at Klosterneuburg, a town in the Archduchy of Austria, not far from Vienna. This Antependium, or altar front, contained originally forty-five subjects in enamel, taken from the Old and New Testaments, and so arranged vertically in triplets, that the first painting represents a subject before the Law, the second under grace, and the third under the Law, in the order I have before mentioned with respect to the subjects in the Biblia Pauperum. The work was executed by Nicolas de Verdun, in the year 1181. In 1329 it was removed from before the altar and placed on the altar, and six new subjects were added, making the number fifty-one. This splendid work has been minutely described, in 1844, by Joseph Arneth, then Director of the Department of Coins and Antiquities at Vienna, and the subjects have been carefully lithographed, at the expense of Albert Camesina, an accomplished connoisseur and artist of Vienna. Three of the subjects taken from this Antependium, viz., Joseph's Brethren putting him into the Pit, our Saviour being laid in the Tomb, and Jonah being cast out of the Ship and swallowed up by the Whale, occur in precisely the same order in the printed Biblia Pauperum, although the style of execution differs according to the different style of art prevailing in the respective ages of the two works.

There is little probability that the author or designer of the Biblia Pauperum will ever be discovered. In the Royal Library at Hanover there is an edition in which occurs the

following memorandum :—"S. Ansgarius est autor hujus libri." Ansgarius was a monk (subsequently Archbishop of Hamburg), who lived at the commencement of the ninth century, and may have composed *a* Biblia Pauperum ; but it does not follow that his Biblia Pauperum was the same as the block book so called, printed in the fifteenth century. In the British Museum there are two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, called Biblia Pauperum, but they again are totally different from the printed block book. Neither of them has illustrations. One consists of 212 Latin hexameters, describing the leading events of the Bible, with other short abstracts, and was evidently intended as a sort of Memoria Technica, and designed most probably to assist both preachers and laymen in remembering the events of the Bible in their chronological order. A memorandum at the head of this manuscript states that the author was Alexander Villa Deus, a Franciscan friar. This writer lived in the middle of the thirteenth century. The other manuscript, also called Biblia Pauperum, is an enumeration of virtues and vices, and contains, under each head, abstracts of Scripture passages bearing upon the subject of it. This also would appear to have been a guide or text-book for preachers. We learn from Lessing, in his Zur Geschichte und Literatur, that in the abbey at Hirschau, in Würtemberg (destroyed by the French in 1692), there were forty windows in the abbey cloisters, on which were represented the same subjects as those in the Biblia Pauperum, and in exactly the same order. Lessing, however, was not able to trace the age of these windows further back than the year 1491, so that we are left in a state of uncertainty whether the Block book was copied from the windows or the windows from the Block book.

It is singular that the authorship of a work which must in its day have been so popular should rest in such total obscurity, and that even the meaning of the name "Biblia Pauperum" should be uncertain.

Books at all times have been produced more frequently to meet a want than to cultivate or to guide the taste. But this was more true in the early age of the discovery of the art of printing than it is now. The first books show the peculiar tendencies and phases of thought in each nation,—jurisprudence and speculative philosophy in one ; classical learning and poetry in another ; history and romance in a

third ; and theology in all. It is not my purpose to indulge in general remarks, and if it were I need not expatiate on the flood of light diffused over the world by the introduction of printing. The discovery was permitted in God's own time. But in this, as in other branches of our subject, I may be permitted to allude to a few facts.

About the year 1360, Wycliffe finished his translation of the Scriptures into English. Copies of this translation were made by his followers, and circulated as widely as circumstances would permit. But the work was long and laborious, and although carried on with the energy which characterises the disseminators of new opinions, it may be safely asserted that during the forty years from 1360 to 1400 the number could not have exceeded a few hundreds. Contrast this with what follows, and we may form a tolerably accurate conjecture of what the number would have been had the art of printing then been known. About 100 years later (between 1450 and 1460) the art of printing was perfected, and the Bible was one of the first books issued. Panzer, in his Annales Typographici, records not less than 232 editions of the Scriptures and portions of the Scriptures which were printed during the forty years from 1460 to 1500 ; and if we assume the number of each edition to have been not more than 500 (and this I believe to be a moderate estimate) we have a result of about 116,000 copies. Of these editions, 155 were Latin, 39 Hebrew, 5 Dutch, 6 Bohemian, 7 French, 3 Greek, 2 Spanish, and 15 Italian. German, Dutch, Italian, and Bohemian were the only languages in which translations of the entire Scriptures were printed during the fifteenth century. Portions of the Scriptures in English were printed for the first time by Caxton in his Golden Legend of 1483. In his translation of verse 7 of the 3rd chapter of Genesis he anticipated the peculiar term which has procured for the Geneva Bible, printed in 1560, the name of the Breeches Bible. Caxton says, "And they toke figge levis and sewed them togyder in maner of brechis." And Caxton again was anticipated by Wycliffe, who says, "They soweden togidre leeves of a fige tree and maden hem brechis."

Until the year 1528 the Bible had always been printed in paragraphs. The division into verses was made by Santès Pagnino, in his Latin Bible of 1528, and this example was

followed in the Bible printed at Geneva by Rouland Hall in 1560, and which was also the first Bible printed in Roman letters.

Although so many editions of the Scriptures were produced within the fifteenth century, they afford but a very imperfect notion of the wonderful activity of the printing press during that period. Hain, in his Repertorium Bibliographicum, enumerates no less than 16,299 works and editions which issued prior to the year 1500; and we may safely assert that if a new edition of Hain's work were published now, large additions would have to be made to it.

Before bringing these remarks to a close, I may be allowed to mention a few unconnected particulars of a more specially bibliographical nature. We have already seen that the earliest printed book which has come down to us was the Bible. Of the profane classics the first which was printed was the De Officiis of Cicero, printed at Mentz in 1465 by Fust and Schœffer. This was also one of the first two books in which Greek type was used, the other being the edition of Lactantius, printed at Subiaco also in 1465. The first Greek classic was the edition of Æsop's Fables, printed at Milan about 1480, and the first *book* printed in Greek was the Greek Grammar of Lascaris, printed at Milan by Dionysius Paravisini, in 1476. Homer was not printed until 1488, when it was produced at Florence in two splendid folio volumes, and in precisely the same character as that used for the Lascaris and Æsop printed at Milan. It is most probable that the type used at Milan was afterwards transferred to Florence. An edition of the Psalms was printed at Milan in 1481, but the type is larger than that of the Lascaris. The first Latin classic printed in England was the Comedies of Terence, printed by Pynson, at London, in 1497. No attempt was made to print a Greek book in England until the year 1543, when Reyner Wolff printed an edition of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom at London.

The first dated German book printed with woodcuts, and also the first specimen of German poetry in print, is said to be the Fables of Bonar (Das Edelstein), a small quarto printed by Pfister at Bamberg, in 1461. The only copy known is in the Wolffenbuttel Library. I am not aware of any book illustrated with wood engravings of an earlier date than this. I speak of course of a date which cannot be disputed.

The earliest book illustrated with copper-plate engravings is El Monte Sancto di Dio, by Bettini, printed at Florence in 1477 by Niccolò di Lorenzo. It has not been settled whether the engravings are by Baldini or by Botticelli.

The first book printed in England with woodcut illustrations is the second edition of the Game and Playe of the Chesse, printed by Caxton, at Westminster Abbey, about 1480; and the first book printed in England with copper-plate engravings is Hugh Broughton's Concent of Scripture, printed in 1590.

The earliest book illustrated with folding views is Breydenbach's Opus Transmarinæ Peregrinationis ad Sepulchrum Dominicum in Jherusalem, printed in Mentz in 1476, which also contains the earliest specimen of cross-hatching in wood-engraving.

I will now proceed to notice a few of the more remarkable books contained in the present exhibition, and must express my regret that it has not been in my power to devote so much time to their examination as would have enabled me to direct attention to a greater number of the very interesting works which have been brought together.

Her Majesty has been pleased to allow six works to be exhibited from the Royal Library at Windsor.

1. The Mentz Psalter before referred to as printed at Mentz by Fust and Schœffer in 1457, the first book printed with a date, and the earliest book containing a specimen of printing in colors, as will be seen in the initial letter B. It has also been said to have been printed by those impossible things wooden types; but I do not suppose that any bibliographer would advance such an opinion at the present day. There is much yet to be learnt about this book, but its extreme rarity has hitherto made comparison difficult.

2. The subtyl Historyes and Fables of Æsope. Translated into Englysshe by William Caxton, and Emprynted by me William Caxton at Westmynstre, 1484. This is the first translation of Æsop into English, and the royal copy is the only perfect one known, all others wanting the frontispiece.

3. Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes. Printed by Caxton, as is supposed, abroad, and generally said to be the first production of his press. It has also been generally considered to be the first book printed in French; but whenever and

wherever printed there is another book which has equal claim upon all these points, viz. a work entitled, Meditacions sur les Sept Pseaulmes Penitentiaulx, which I had the good fortune to discover in the British Museum in the year 1846. The type is the same as the Recueil, and the work is bound with another Caxton, equally unknown, entitled, Les Quatre Derrenieres Choses, printed in the same type as the Mirror of the Worlde. Mr. Blades, however, in his excellent work on the Life and Typography of William Caxton, contends that neither Le Recueil, Les Meditacions, nor Les Quatre Derrenieres Choses were printed by Caxton, but by Colard Mansion of Bruges. He will, I am sure, forgive me if I decline to adopt that opinion; although, where there is so little positive evidence on either side, I should hesitate to pronounce him very positively wrong.

4. The first edition of Coverdale's Bible, printed in 1535. This was the first time that the entire Scriptures were printed in English, and, like all other editions of the English translation of the Bible, printed prior to the year 1537, was printed abroad. Another peculiarity attaches to this edition in common with almost all other previous editions of the English version, viz., that the place at which it was printed was not known. It was generally supposed that it was printed by Froschover at Zurich; but a book discovered a few years ago in the library of Lord Ashburnham of the same date, in the same type, and with many of the same pictorial letters, proves that it was printed at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The work in question is entitled Cronica. Beschreibung und gemeine Anzeige vonn aller Wellt herkommen Fürnehmen Landen, &c., by Christian Egenolff.

All the copies of this edition of the Bible, with the one exception after mentioned, have the introduction printed in a different type from that of the body of the work; and it was only about twenty-three years ago when a copy was discovered in the library of Earl Leicester at Holkham with a fragment of the introduction printed in the same type as the text that it became known that the introduction had been changed. The title also generally bears date 1536. The true explanation of these peculiarities appears to be that the book was originally dedicated to Queen Anne Boleyn, but her death having taken place before the book could be circulated in England, the dedication was reprinted and addressed

to Queen Jane. This alteration of course involved the necessity of altering the title-page.

5. The Boke of Faytes of Armes, by Caxton, and

6. Guy de Roye's Doctrinal of Sapience, also by Caxton. This book was supposed to have been the only work by Caxton printed on vellum until the discovery, by Mr. Maskell, of a copy of Bonaventura's Speculum vitæ Christi, a much finer book than the Doctrinal of Sapyence, and which was acquired by the British Museum in 1864.

No book can possess greater interest for Englishmen than the English translation of the Scriptures. I have already alluded to Wycliffe's version made in the fourteenth century, and disseminated among his followers in manuscript. Tyndale, early in the sixteenth century, did more than this; he translated the Scriptures into English, and then printed them in portions on the continent and smuggled them into England. He quitted England for the purpose of prosecuting this great work in 1524. His history from this time until his martyrdom at Antwerp in 1536 is well known to most persons through the exhaustive work of Christopher Anderson, The Annals of the English Bible. Wycliffe was protected by John of Gaunt, Luther by the Duke of Saxony; but Tyndale stood alone, supported only by the deep conviction that he was doing God's work, for of earthly support he had none. A frequent fugitive from one continental town to another he printed his books in secret, so that we are obliged to have recourse to indirect evidence in order to ascertain where many of them were produced. Of some only one copy or fragment is known. Soon after he left England he took up his residence at Cologne, from which city he was obliged to fly in order to escape from the persecution of Cochlæus. He was known to have been engaged in printing the New Testament at this time, but it was only about twenty-four years ago that Mr. Rodd, the bookseller, discovered a fragment of this Testament, consisting of thirty-one leaves, printed by Peter Quentell of Cologne, and which is now deposited in the British Museum.

It is recorded in a manuscript in the Lambeth Library (No. 306, fol. 65), that "upon the first Sunday of Advent, 1531, these books following were openly at Paul's Crosse, by the authority of my Lord of London, prohibited and strictly commanded by no manner of men to be used;" and there

follows a list of Tyndale's works, the last of which is "Jonas in English." This Jonas was thought to have been irrecoverably lost, until a few years ago, when a copy was discovered bound up in a volume with several other works. It was acquired by the late Marquis of Bristol. Another unique work of Tyndale's is a copy of an edition of his New Testament, printed without the name of either place or printer, but no doubt produced by Peter Schœffer at Worms. This is deposited in the library of the Baptist Museum at Bristol, and Mr. Fry of that city has produced a most excellent facsimile of it.

Sir William Tite exhibits to-day two editions of Tyndale. The Pentateuch, printed in 1530, and the New Testament, printed in 1534. The Pentateuch is very rare, only one perfect copy being known, that in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. Of the New Testament there are three editions printed in the year 1534. One printed at Antwerp by the widow of Christopher Endhover; a second, more correct in the text, was printed in November, 1534. The third is supposed to have been also printed at Antwerp. The edition now exhibited is the one last mentioned.

I would also draw attention to the copy of Caxton's Mirrour of the Worlde, 1480, exhibited by Sir William Tite, which is remarkable for the beauty of its condition.

The Rev. Mr. Fuller Russell exhibits a fine copy of Parker's work entitled De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ et Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis. Cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem 70, 1572, printed by John Day. Parker was the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury—that is, he was the first who was a Protestant at the time when he was raised to the Archiepiscopal dignity. His History was the first book privately printed in England, and is of great rarity, the number of impressions being very few.

It was the custom in most churches in England to elect on the Day of St. Nicholas (Dec. 6) the patron of children, a *Boy Bishop*, who assumed the attributes and received the honors of a bishop during the days intervening between that date and Innocents' Day (Dec. 28), on which occasion a sermon was preached by him in full episcopal robes, wearing a mitre on his head, and assuming all the episcopal offices.

The Rev. Mr. Russell exhibits a sermon delivered upon one of these occasions. The title is as follows:—"In die

Innocenciũ fino (sermo) pro episcopo pueror." London, small 4to, Wynkyn de Worde. This is a sermon in English, written for the Boy Bishop, which was to be delivered by him at St. Paul's on Innocent's Day (Dec. 28). The following passage occurs in it: "Pray for the soule of the reverende fad' my lord Thomas Kempe late bysshop, and for the soules of alle benefactours of this chyrche of Poulis." Dean Colet, in the Statutes of St. Paul's School, which he founded in 1512, expressly ordains that his scholars should every *childermas* (Innocents') Day "come to Paulis churche and hear the Chylde Bishop's sermon: and after be at the hygh masse, and each of them offer a penny to the Chylde Bishop: and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole."

The ceremony of the Boy Bishop is supposed to have existed not only in collegiate churches, but almost every parish in England. The service of the Boy Bishop set to music, appears in the early editions of the Sarum *Processionale*.

Gregory, a prebendary of Salisbury, describes the finding of a boy bishop's monument in the cathedral there.

Mr. Russell also exhibits one volume of the Complutensian Polyglot, entitled, Biblia polyglotta, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Grece et Latine, nunc primum impressa de mandato et sumptibus Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros. In Complutensi universitate. Industria Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocario, 1514—1517. 6 vols. This is the first polyglot Bible, and is a splendid monument of the enlightened views of Cardinal Ximenez. This Bible was superseded by the Antwerp polyglot published in 1573, but is a rare book and of much bibliographical interest.

The Boke called the Mirroure of our Lady, very necessary for all relygyous Persones. London, by Richard Fawkes, 1530. This is a very rare and curious work, treating of the proper behaviour at divine service, and containing also the service for each day of the week under the title of Seven Stories. It is exhibited by the Very Rev. Canon Rock.

The Kalendar of Shephardes, printed at London by Julian Notary some time after 1500. This is a rare edition of a very curious book, which is a translation from a French work entitled, "Le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergers, printed in 1493. The French original passed through nearly thirty editions between 1493 and the year 1540, and the editions of the

English version were also numerous. The work is interesting both for its contents and illustrations. Of the latter many are taken from the "Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir," printed by Verard at Paris in 1492. The contents are divided between Astrology and Theology. The usual information of a Calendar or Ephemeris is followed by the Trees and Branches of virtues and vices, with a Ballad of a woman shepherd. Also the ten commandments of the Devil and the reward that they shall have that keep them; "and howe men should do when phisicke doth fail them for health of body and soule made in a ballad royall," etc., etc. Exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Fuller Russell.

Another edition, but imperfect, is exhibited by Canon Rock.

At the end of the edition of the Shepherd's Calendar, printed by Pynson in 1506, are some stanzas by the printer, in one of which is expressed a regret that the Bible was not then printed in English. The lines are—

"Remember clarkes dayly dothe theyr delygens
Into oure corrupte speche maters to translate,
Yet betwene Frenche and Englysshe is grete deffens [difference].
There longage in redynge is douse and dylycate.
In theyr mother tonge they be so fortunate.
They have the *Bybyll* and the Apocalypys of devynyte,
With other nobyll bokes *that in Englyche may no be*."

The edition of 1604 has the last line altered thus:

"With other noble bookes that *now* in English be."

In the above-mentioned edition of 1506 is recorded the fall at Ensisheim in 1492, of the celebrated meteorite, "a greate Thonder Stone," a great portion of which is now in the Mineralogical Gallery of the British Museum.

The Nuremberg Chronicle, exhibited by Mr. Russell, was compiled by Hartman Schedel, a physician of Nuremberg, and was printed in that city by Anthony Coburger in 1493. It is illustrated by upwards of 2000 woodcuts, which were executed under the superintendence of Michael Wolgemuth and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, distinguished artists of that day. Although the number of the cuts is so large, it must not be supposed that they are all different one from the other. Chatto, in his History of Wood Engraving, gives a copy of

one which first occurs in the chronicle as that of Paris, the lover of Helen, then as that of Thales, of Anastasius, of Odofredus, and of the poet Dante. Other heads and subject-cuts are made in like manner to do duty for different individuals and events.

Epistolæ Christophori Colombi. These are the first and fourth editions of a work of the highest interest, being the letters of Columbus, addressed on the 14th of March, 1493, to Raphael Sanchez, the Treasurer of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and giving an account of his first voyage and discovery of the West Indies. There were several editions of this letter, and all are of great rarity. Exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Russell.

Of the several service books of the Church of Rome there were two, which as late as the first quarter of the sixteenth century, were generally profusely illustrated and frequently very richly illuminated, these were the Missal and the Horæ—the Missal for public and the Horæ for more private devotions. These books frequently varied in some particulars, according to the diocese for which they were prepared. The cities of Paris and Rouen enjoyed almost a monopoly of printing the service books both for France and England up to the early part of the sixteenth century. This probably arose from the circumstance that the printers of other places might not have been possessed of the pictorial illustrations with which, as I have stated, it was the custom to ornament these books. There is an especial interest connected with the Horæ for Salisbury use. It supplied the materials for the English Prymer, and the Prymer was the manual which in the reign of Edward VI. supplied a portion of the contents of the Book of Common Prayer.

Of the Missals, Mr. Russell contributes one which merits careful examination. It is entitled, Missale Parisiense Novum, printed at Paris in 1489 by Jean Belin, Guillermus le Caron, and Johannes de Prato, and is printed on vellum, with illuminations of a very superior order. It has the Majesty as well as the Crucifixion, the former occurring much more rarely than the latter. This copy was sold at Hanrott's sale in 1833 for the small sum of £20. Another, but less fine copy, is in the Bibliothèque de Sainte Genevieve at Paris.

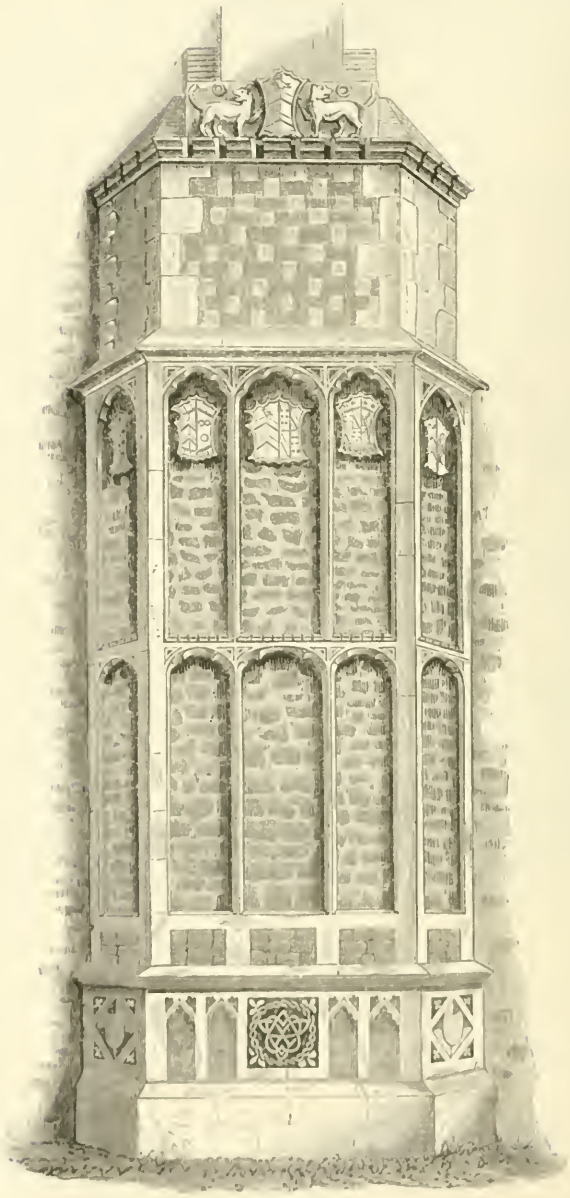
There are also exhibited on the present occasion several

Horæ of great interest and beauty. I cannot pretend to describe them severally, as that would occupy too much time, but I would particularly direct attention to two exhibited by Mr. Fisher. The first is a Horæ for Roman use, printed by Simon de Colinæus for Geoffroy Tory of Bourges, dated at the commencement 1524 and at the end 1525. The ornamentation of this volume is extremely delicate and Italian in its style, differing from most others, with the exception of the second, which is for Paris use, printed by Simon du Bois also for Geoffroy Tory of Bourges in 1527. Whoever the artist may have been, he must have studied Italian art carefully. I know of no Horæ with the same style of ornamentation but those printed for Geoffroy Tory. Mr. Addington also exhibits a fine Horæ printed by Simon Colinæus at Paris in 1543, with Italian borders of the same character, and also one printed in 1541, with remarkable borders containing representations of flowers and insects of Flemish design.

The first Bible printed by authority was that which is known as the Great Bible, printed in 1539, also called Cranmer's Bible. But Cranmer was not interested in that edition, but in the second, printed in April, 1540, for which he wrote a preface. There are seven commonly recognised editions of this Bible, one printed in 1539, three in 1540, and three in 1541. But Mr. Fry and other diligent bibliographers have discovered variations between existing copies, which in their opinion justify them in declaring that there are more than seven editions of this important work. The pictorial border to the title-page of these volumes is said to have been designed by Hans Holbein. It contains the full length figures of Cranmer and Cromwell, Earl of Essex, with their armorial bearings. But after the execution of Essex, his arms were cut out of the block, and the circular place was left vacant or painted over.

A copy of the edition of 1540 is exhibited by Sir William Tite.

Mr. Talbot Bury exhibits a copy of the Theurdanck, printed by Matthias Schulter at Augsburg. This work was written by Melchior Pfintzing, the Secretary of the Emperor Maximilian I., and is supposed to record the adventures of the Emperor prior to and consequent upon his marriage with Maria of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles the Bold.



Chimney-shaft, "Vestry" on the north side of the Chancel.

From a drawing by Mr. Watling, of East Stonham.

SIR JAMES TYRELL'S CHAPEL AT GIPPING, SUFFOLK.

By W. H. SEWELL, M.A., Yaxley, Suffolk.

Gipping is a hamlet, with a population of fifty persons, in the county and archdeaconry of Suffolk, and in the rural deanery of Stow. It is, however, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, being a donative.

In the district a rivulet, here called *The Gipp*, begins to flow, becoming afterwards the river Gipping, which, passing Stowmarket and Needham-market, leaves its name at Gippingwich or Ipswich, whence it flows into the Orwell, and at Harwich into the sea.

The parish of Gipping contains about 900 acres of land (chiefly owned by Mr. Charles Tyrell), and lies nearly midway between Mendlesham and Haughley, and is distant about four miles from Stowmarket, where is the mother church, and about two miles eastward from Haughley Road Station on the Great Eastern Railway. The object of chief interest is the small and beautiful fabric of the Perpendicular period, called Gipping Chapel. It is an extremely fine example of flint panel-work, or cut flint worked into the quarried stone or ashlar. The flint-work is here spread over the greater part of the four outside walls; being generally found on chief porches, and on the south side only of our Suffolk churches, usually adorning the wall-spaces between the clerestory windows.

There was, however, an older chapel than the present fabric. For at the latter part of the Decorated period we find, from the Inquisitiones Nonarum (as quoted in Hollingsworth's History of Stowmarket), that in the year 1340 there then existed a chapel at Gipping, and that its tithe was valued at 1*l.* Hollingsworth further states that the abbot and abbey of St. Osythe were possessed of the rectorial tithes, and as patrons appointed the vicar at Gipping.

The chapel is dedicated to Almighty God, in honour of

Saint Nicholas, as appears in the following extract from the will of Robert Cosyn of Stowmarket, 1474, kindly given me by my friend the Rev. C. R. Manning:—"Item, lego capelle Sci Nich'i de Gyppyng ad reficiendum et reparandum xx^{s}." Bury Will Office. Vol. II. fo. 565.

Beyond this fact very little is known concerning the chapel, except what is to be learnt from its inscriptions, coats of arms, and painted glass. Mr. Hollingsworth, in his History of Stowmarket (p. 105), gives only some thirty lines to the fabric. No information relates to it in the Fitch Collections at Bury or in the collections at Ipswich. The Suffolk Collections of Davy and Jermyn in the British Museum contain but little about Gipping. And there are no register books belonging to the chapel.

Trustworthy information is thus alone to be obtained from the chapel, which stands sheltered in a beautiful woodland retreat.

No burial appears ever to have taken place in this ground. Mr. Davy states, however, that Thomas Tyrrell, Esquire, of Gipping and Wetherden, was in 1585 buried at Gipping.

The chapel was erected or thoroughly restored about A.D. 1480, judging from the style of its architecture, which is such as then prevailed. It may be assigned to the fifteen years *after* 1480, or more probably to the fifteen years *before* that date, since we know that in 1474 a small sum of money was piously left for its restoration. Is seems certain that the work was done before Sir James's son, Thomas, married Margaret, daughter of Christopher Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, since their shield of arms is not found among the other shields on the chimney shaft. In fact, the fabric was brought into its present state chiefly at the expense and in the lifetime of that brave knight of slandered memory, Sir James Tyrell,[1] as may be inferred from the inscription over the vestry door:—"Pray for Sir Jamys Tirell [a knot] Dame Anne his wyf."

A stranger visiting the chapel will naturally have his atten-

[1] The writer, while attempting to discover the history of this chapel, was led to inquire into the real facts in the life of its great restorer. And in a paper read on May 11th, *ult.*, before the Society of Antiquaries, he thinks he has proved from contemporary documents (as far as it is possible to prove a negative,) that Sir James Tyrell is not to be held guilty of the murders of the Princes in 1483, and that he cannot be shown to have been even remotely concerned in that atrocious deed.

tion first drawn to what may, perhaps, be termed a label, in stone, inscribed. The full inscription is found repeated six times on the nave and chancel; it occurs once on the north side of the nave, but without the last letter A.

There is some difficulty in deciphering the letters, and more in determining what they mean.

(1.) They were formerly read by Sir William Betham as A.M.—half an M.—and L.A., and explained by him thus:—A. for Anno; M. for 1000; half an M. for 500; L. for 50; and A. repeated for Anno, indicating the year 1550, the supposed date of the chapel, which, however, must be placed some seventy or eighty years earlier.

Again (2.), the letters have been read thus:—A. M. L. A. and on the occasion of the Archæological Institute's inspection of the chapel, on July 23, 1869, were conjectured to stand for—Ave · Maria · Lætare · Alleluia.

(3.) Since then, however, they have been supposed to be, in fact, a Hebrew charm. Some short time ago[2] a slip of parchment, inscribed in Hebrew characters with the letters A. G. L. A., was found in the stem of a crucifix that belonged to the Priory of Gisborne, Yorkshire. Four Hebrew words were found by the late Mr. James Yates to fit the initials:—ATE GEBUR LOULEM ADONAI — which, being interpreted, mean:—"Thou art great for ever, O Lord." Mr. Yates would accordingly consider—A M L A—to be possibly a similar Hebrew charm; and although the four characters are certainly not Hebrew, he would interpret them Hebraistically, and assign for the four initials the Hebrew words:—ATAR MELECH LEONLAU ADONAI,—meaning,—"Thou (art) king for ever, O Lord."

With great deference to Mr. Yates, I beg to observe that this explanation appears to me somewhat forced, and in one respect without precedent; for I am not aware of any instance of a Hebrew or other charm applied to the fabric of a Christian building; yet I must acknowledge that I have myself no better interpretation to offer.

The fabric now consists of western tower, nave, chancel, and north chancel vestry.

I believe that the north chancel vestry was added some few years afterwards. It is in the same style as the rest of

[2] See Arch. Journ., vol. xxiv. p. 68. See also some other notices of the use of the mysterious word AGLA, ibid., vol. iii. p. 359; vol. iv. p. 78.

the building, but the east wall shows on the outside an awkward joining to the chancel.

The measurements of the building in the interior are the following:—

	Length.	Breadth.	Height at central beam.
	ft.	ft.	ft.
Nave	33	18	20
Chancel	24	14½	19½
Vestry . . .	13¼	10½	19

The nave is lighted by three windows on the north, and by three on the south. Below the middle window on the south is the chief doorway; below the middle window on the north is a corresponding doorway, opposite the other, but now stopped up. The four larger windows have three lights, with transoms; and both the middle windows are made up of a pair of two lights, and are very skilfully grouped with the doorway below, and with the two buttresses beside them. Formerly there was an opening (still observable) in the west wall, perhaps for a window, which is now blocked by the tower. The inner roof of the nave (as well as of the chancel) is nearly flat, ceiled with plaster, and divided into square compartments. The outer roof is tiled.

The stone font at the west end of the nave has a circular bowl, which stands on an octagonal shaft, with the original square step for the priest on its west side. The sacrament of holy baptism is only rarely administered here, and the baptism is then to be registered by the Vicar of Stowmarket.

There is a little good carving on the benches—some examples of the Tyrell knot or badge. One set of the benches was placed here several years ago, having been removed in Mr. Hollingsworth's time from the Tyrell Chapel in the north aisle of Stowmarket Church.

This chief part of the chancel is lighted on the south by two windows of three lights, with transoms; on the north now by one window, formerly, I believe, by two, and by a five-light east window, also with a transom.

In the east window may be seen fragments of inscriptions, and of several religious emblems. The ten upper smallest lights were once filled with angels holding shields with the emblems of the Passion of our Saviour. On one of the shields

are represented two bleeding hands, two bleeding feet, in the centre a bleeding heart. This shield of the five wounds is less frequent here than in some other districts. There is, besides, an early painting from the chapel, remaining in 1869, of the head of our Lord after death, decollated, and crowned with thorns.[1] The panel measures 12 by 15½ in. The east window is of ten lights, five upper and five lower, in which are some fine fragments of painted glass. The most northern of the upper five lights represents the body of a man in plate armour, of, as I suppose, the fourteenth century, perhaps Sir James Tyrell. The second upper light to the south represents an ecclesiastic reading from a book held in his left hand, with a gold ring on five fingers; red cope, jewelled; mitre jewelled on the head, and jewelled pastoral staff held in his right hand; a sable almuce around the neck. This is supposed to represent the Abbot of St. Osythe. In the third upper light to the south is a female figure, shedding tears, a radiated nimbus round the head. It is doubtless intended for the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the fourth upper light to the south is a male figure, weeping, with a nimbus. This is doubtless meant for the Beloved Disciple. In the fifth upper light is a female figure with long hair flowing down the back, reading a book, perhaps intended for Dame Anne Tyrell. In the second, third, fourth, and fifth of the lower lights the canopies are more or less perfect. The third lower light represents a peacock's tail in a boar's mouth, which is the Tyrell crest. There are many fine quarries and fragments of designs scattered throughout the window; on one piece of glass the following words are scratched:—"Edm[d] Tyrell Patron · Richard Chilton Curate · 1756."

A doorway to the west of the only window on the north side of the chancel leads into the vestry. The chancel wall west of the doorway bears traces of a former opening of some kind, measuring, within the vestry, 3 ft. 6 in. by 6ft. This perhaps was the original priests' door, before the present north vestry was built on to the somewhat older chancel wall. This small room is termed a vestry because it is now used as such. Mr. Hollingsworth (Hist. Stowmarket, p. 105) considers that "it cannot have been intended as a vestry." I merely use the term for convenience, and do not wish to prejudge the matter. I have found no



Doorway, west side of the Vestry.

From a drawing by Mr. Watling, of East Stonham.

piscina, the usual token of a chapel, nor any other distinctive features to lead me to conjecture a definite use.

No interment appears to have taken place in the vestry or in any part of the chancel or the nave. The vestry is lighted by a fine east window of four lights. In the opposite (W) wall is a corresponding window-bay, now stopped up. In the north end is a stone fireplace, originally measuring five feet six inches across, and four feet high. Close by the chancel wall in the west side of the vestry is a doorway leading outside. Over the door in the moulding is the inscription :—"Pray for Sr Jamys Tirell · Dame Anne his wyf." In the right spandril above the door is the Tyrell badge ; and in the left spandril two hearts entwined.

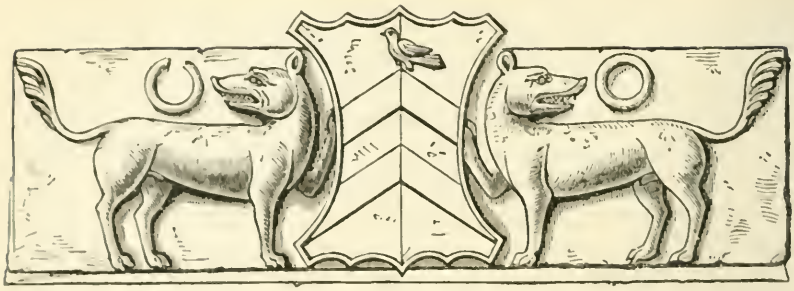
When any such inscription as this referred to a deceased person, it invariably, I believe, was worded, Pray for "the soul of" so and so. When, however, it was set up in a person's own lifetime, it ran, Pray for "the good estate of," or simply, Pray "for" such a person. From the wording, therefore, of this inscription, we should certainly conclude that it was placed where we find it in the lifetime of that brave captain of injured memory, Sir James Tyrell, Knight-Banneret.

Notwithstanding the modern addition of a small square flue, the fine old chimney shaft of the vestry, on the outside, must excite the admiration of every beholder. The shaft is built in the form of a bay ; and its window-like compartments, filled with cut flint, contain five shields, one at the top of each division, all being surmounted by a shield of the Tyrell arms with supporters. The explanation of the heraldry will be rendered more intelligible by the accompanying portion of the Tyrell pedigree, which I have collected from Berry's Essex Genealogies.

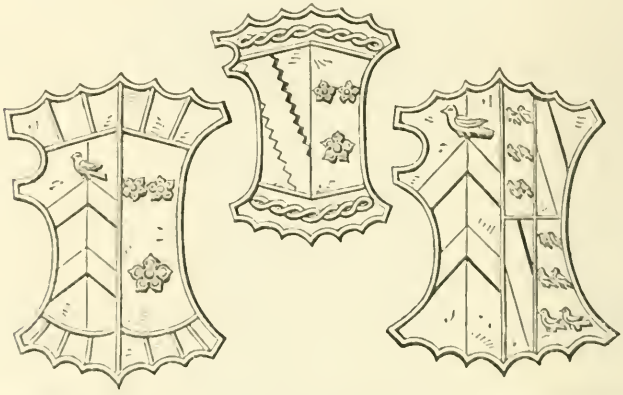
(1.) *Tyrell with supporters.* Arms—argent, two chevrons azure within a bordure engrailed gules. Crest—a boar's head, erect, argent, out of the mouth a peacock's tail ppr. Supporters—two tigers regardant ppr. Motto—Sans crainte. The dignity of knight-banneret was originally conferred on such gentlemen as had signalized their valour in two royal battles ; and such knights were allowed to display their arms as barons did, and to bear arms *with supporters*, as in this instance.

(2.) Clopton impaling Darcy.

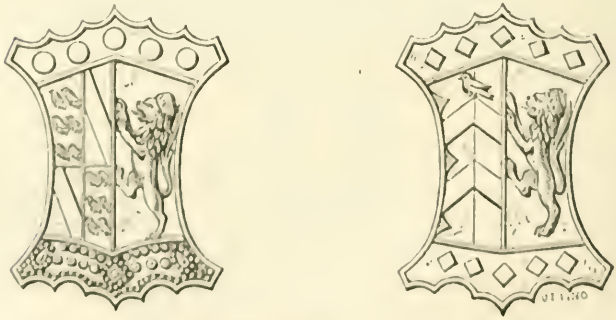
(3.) Tyrell impaling Darcy, Sir James's mother, whose Christian name Margaret is to be seen among the fragments of glass in the east window. For difference, see Archaeol. i. 382.



1. Tyrell, with supporters.



3. Tyrell impaling Darcy. 2. Clopton impaling Darcy. 4. Tyrell, impaling Arundell.



5. Arundell and Carminow, impaling Marney. 6. Tyrell, impaling Marney.

Escutcheons of arms on the Chimney-shaft.

(4.) Sir James Tyrell impaling the arms of Anne Arundell his wife, viz., quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, a bend or; 2 and 3, sable, six swallows argent.

(5.) Arundel and Carminow impaling, according to Mr. Almack, what is intended for Marney.

(6.) Tyrell impaling Marney, Sir James's uncle and aunt, of Heron, Essex.

On the south-east buttress of the chancel the Tyrell shield is again to be observed; and on the north-east buttress that of Arundell quartering Carminow, an ancient Cornish family.[3] Above it is an old French motto, Groyne (or Groyue ?) que vodroy, meaning "Let him complain who will."[4] This may be found to be a motto of the Arundells, Dame Anne Tyrell's family.

On a south buttress of the chancel is a shield bearing the Darcy arms. There are also many graceful monograms, rebuses, and badges scattered profusely about the flint framework. Amongst these may be mentioned the following, I and T for James Tyrell—D and A (in two hearts) for Dame Anne—the letters I and S, probably for James. Also the sacred monogram for JESUS,—Maria in a monogram of M., and a very elaborate monogram, occurring once only, containing the Tyrell knot or badge, resembling the *triquetra*, or semicircles interlaced, combined with the letters W, A, and perhaps also the letter T.

On the north side of the nave, over the door which is stopped up, in a wheel-like design, are the letters—G—and T—a monogram of I and S, combined,—and the letter R. And here I leave my reader to discover some interpretation of these initials, more probable, yet not more fitting to conclude with than—

"Gratias Tibi JESU Reddo."
I return to Thee thanks, O Jesus.

The reader is indebted to my courteous correspondent, Mr. Charles Tyrell, jun., of the Plashwood, near Gipping, for allowing this description to be illustrated from the accurate drawings of the chapel, made in the year 1869 by the master of the Earl Stonham village school, Mr. Watling. And my own thanks are due to Mr. Almack, of Long Melford, for his kind and promptly rendered assistance in the heraldry.

[3] See Lysons' Cornwall, p. cxxv—vi.

[4] *Groigner, grongnier*, &c., grouder, murmurer, in Lat. *grunnire*, Roquefort. The motto may possibly convey some allusion to the boar's head crest.



Monograms, and French Motto.

From drawings by Mr. Watling of East Stonham

Sir John Tyrell of Heron, Essex, Knight Sheriff, 1423, of Essex and Herts. = Alice, 2nd dau. and coheir of Sir William Coggeshall, Knight, of Little Sandford, Co. Essex; by Antiocha his wife, dau. of Sir John Hawkwood, Knt. Died 1422; buried at East Hornden, Co. Essex.

Eldest son.

Sir Thomas Tyrell, of Heron, Knt. Died 28 Mar. 1476. Left a long will. (Doctor's Commons.) = Emma, dau. of Sir Wm. Marney, of Layer Marney, Essex. or of John Marney, Esq.

(Shield 5 on the chimney shaft.)

Eldest son. 2nd son. 3rd son. 4th son.

Sir Wm. Tyrell, Knt., d. in father's lifetime. = Eleanor, dau. of Robt. Darey of Maldon aforesaid. Her portrait is in Long Melford Church.

Sir Thomas, æt. 23 at his grandfather's death, whom he succeeded. Escheat. ac. 16 Ed. 4, n. 31, and so on with the Heron Branch.

Thomas, Esq., of South Kirton, Suffolk. 1st husband. = Elizabeth 2nd dau. and coh. of Sir Hy. Bruin, Knt. Re-married Sir Wm. Brandon, by whom she had issue Sir Charles Brandon, K.G. Created Duke of Suffolk, A.D. 1514.

Humphrey, Esq., of Warley, Essex. = Elizabeth, dau. and coh. of John Wallwyn of Longford, county Hereford, Esq.

Sir Robert, Knt., married and left issue.

Sir William Tyrell of Heeches, Knt. Married twice and left issue. Left a very long will dated 16 Mar. 49 H. 6. (D.C.)

3rd son.

William Tyrell of Gipping, Esq., High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1446. = Margaret, dau. of Robert Darey of Maldon, Esq.

(Shield 2 on the chimney shaft.)

Eldest son. 2nd son. 3rd son. 4th son. 5th son.

Sir James Tyrell, Knt., was an Esq., 1474; made a Knt. Banneret 4 July, 1482; beheaded for (so called) treason, 6 May, 1502. = Anne, dau. of Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne, co. Cornwall, Knt.

(Shield 4 on chimney shaft.)

Sir Thomas Tyrell, Knt., an Esq., and Master of the Horse (R. 3. Corona) 6 July, 1483; knight bachelor, 20 June, 1487.

Edward. John. John.

Eldest son. 2nd son. 3rd son.

Thomas, of Gipping, re-instated in 1507, made a Knt.-banneret in 1513; was master of Queen's horse in 1520. = Margaret, dau. of Christopher Ld. Willoughby d'Eresby.

James, of Columbine Hall, Stowmarket. Will dated, 1533. = Ann, dau. and coh. of John of Columbine Hall,

William.

John, of Gipping, knighted 2 Oct. 1553, died 1573. = Eliz., dau. of Sir John Munday, Ld. Mayor of London, 1522.

Eldest. 2nd son. 3rd son.

John, of Gipping, Knt., married twice, died 1591, s.p.

Thomas, of Gipping and Wetherden, Esq.; married and left issue; buried at Gipping Davy in 1585.

Edward, Knt., a pensioner to Queen Elizabeth; married and left issue.

ARMS.

Argent, two chevrons azure within a bordure engrailed gules.

Crest, a boar's head, erect, argent; out of the mouth a peacock's tail ppr.

(See Berry, Essex Geneal. p. 57.)

REMARKS ON ROMAN COINS FOUND NEAR WOODBRIDGE, SUFFOLK.[1]

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Professor of Latin in Queen's College, Cork.

In digging for coprolites at Sutton, near Woodbridge, some labourers recently found a vessel, which is said to have contained nearly a bushel of Roman coins. They belong to the period of Constantine, and are for the most part of ordinary types; but as illustrations of history they are interesting, and from this point of view I propose to consider them on the present occasion.

A modern writer,[2] more remarkable for rhetorical brilliancy than minute accuracy, has said that the series of Greek coins does not yield to the Roman in "historical interest." This statement is not correct: the Greek coins are incomparably superior as works of art; they also afford much curious information with respect to mythology, manners, and customs, and the productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; but, as Eckhel observes, "Facta historica non facile admittunt." On the other hand, the Roman series, both consular and imperial, though inferior in execution, are invaluable as records of events.[3] Had all the MSS. of the Greek and Latin writers perished in the confusion of the Middle Ages, these coins would still have supplied us with an outline of the principal facts and personages. This remark applies to that glorious era in Roman history when, according to Gibbon, the human race enjoyed the greatest happiness, under Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines; it is equally true with respect to the period with which we are now immediately concerned, the commencement of the Lower

[1] Read before the Archæological Institute at Leicester, July 29th, 1870, the Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide, F.S.A., in the chair.

[2] Macaulay, Essay on Addison.

[3] While from the numerous beautiful and interesting series of Sicilian coins we can scarcely glean any additional fact, besides the existence of Queen Philistis (ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΣ), we learn from the coins of a single emperor, Trajan, several circumstances otherwise unknown.

Empire, when the decline of art corresponded with the loss of freedom and the decay of political institutions. It has been justly said that art is the reflection of literature; accordingly, as after Trajan and Hadrian we scarcely meet with a single writer of original genius, so, when we descend below their date, we observe that the coins degenerate, exhibit false taste, and sacrifice the objects that should be most prominent to meretricious accessories.

Many of the coins found near Woodbridge belong to the class called votive, and corroborate the accounts given us in the Augustan history of the acclamations and prayers for a happy reign which greeted the new emperor on his accession to the throne.

We find on their reverses the letters V and XX, &c.; these probably refer to the number of years of the reign, and their origin may be traced to the age of Augustus, who accepted supreme power for periods of ten years—a fact which was commemorated by the institution of the festival of the Decennalia. On the coins of Constantine the letters XXX sometimes occur, denoting that his reign lasted for thirty years; and similar votive inscriptions are visible in the medallions on the arch of this emperor at Rome.

Amongst these coins we have one that bears the legend SARMATIA DEVICTA, and thus confirms the statements of Ammianus, Eutropius, and other historians. But we meet very frequently with the legend GLORIA EXERCITVS and VIRTVS EXERCIT; and here again we have an illustration of the Gothic, Persian, and civil wars in which the Romans were engaged during this period.

Some of these coins have the abbreviation AVGG. for Augusti, and CAESS. for Cæsares, thus bearing testimony to the division of the Roman world between two orders of emperors, which began in the time of Diocletian.

All the coins with the legend BEATA TRANQVILLITAS on the reverse have the mint-mark PLON, and appear to have been struck in London. I cannot help remarking that by a happy coincidence these words, which were first used in a remote antiquity, aptly describe the peaceable population of our capital at the present day.

The legend CONSTANTINOPOLIS reminds us of the change of the seat of empire.

The legend VICTORIAE DD. AVGG. Q. NN. has been variously

interpreted; some explain it as, Victoriæ dominorum Augustorum *quinque* nostrorum,[4] the five princes being Constantine II., Constantius, Constans, Delmatius, and Hannibalianus. Others suppose that Q. means *que* (and), as in the abbreviation S. P. Q. R., *i. e.*, Senatus Populusque Romanus.

A slight inspection of this series will show the personal advantages which Constantine possessed over his rivals. In the long line of Roman emperors, with the exception of Augustus, we scarcely find a face superior to his "majestic countenance."

Two of these coins indicate the deification of the emperors Constantius and Constantine the Great: in the latter case the emperor stands in a chariot and extends his arm to grasp a celestial hand which is raising him to the skies. At an earlier period the apotheosis was represented by a different symbol: the emperor was borne aloft by an eagle, the bird of Jove; and the empress had for her device a peacock, which was similarly appropriated to Juno, as is seen on the coins of Samos, the seat of her worship. The epithet *Divus* in the legend often occurs in Tacitus and Suetonius, and has been adopted by the Christian Church as the title of canonization. The letters DV., the abbreviation of this word, may be seen on the Roman milestone in the town Museum at Leicester.

In several cases we find on the reverse a gate with ornaments at the top, that seem to be trophies, where we have the letters PTR (percussa Treviris). Some antiquaries have endeavoured to identify it with the Porta Nigra at Trèves, which is described by Wyttenbach in his Treatise on the Antiquities of that city; but, perhaps, we have here only the representation of the gate of a camp.

It remains for me to say a few words on mint-marks, a branch of the subject which presents many difficulties, and has not yet been fully elucidated by any writer on numismatics. These marks are letters in the exergue of the reverse, *i. e.*, in the lower part of the field of the coin, separated from the rest by a line. The following occur amongst others on these coins, and may be thus explained:—

SIS—Siscia, now Sissek, the chief town in Pannonia.

[4] Cohen, vol. vi. p. 270.

CONST—Constantinople.
PLON—struck at London (percussa Londinii).
TRS—struck at Trèves (Treviris signata).
SMANTB—struck at Antioch (signata moneta Antiochiæ; B, second issue).
TRP—struck at Trèves (Treviris percussa).
STR—struck at Trèves (signata Treviris).

After the exergual letters denoting the mint, we often find another letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, &c., which seems to signify the issue, first, second, third, fourth, &c. Besides the mint-marks we frequently meet with letters on the field of the coin which are hard to explain; *e. g.*, on one of Crispus we have $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{III}}$, which some have read $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{III}}$. We can hardly suppose that these letters denote the issue, because this is expressed in the exergual letters SMKΔ, *i. e.* (signata Moneta Karthagine), money struck at Carthage, fourth issue. This is an enigma which I must leave to some more learned numismatist to solve.[5]

These coins vary in execution: some exhibit considerable skill in portraiture; others are comparatively rude; but on the whole they represent the decline of art corresponding with the debasement of literature. So, on the Arch of Constantine, we find the sculptural decorations borrowed from a monument of Trajan, as if there were no competent artists living at the time when it was erected. If we may judge from the ruins of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, architecture appears to have survived longer than the sister arts.

The following are the principal authorities for the numismatics of this period:—

Agostini of Tarragona, whose great work, first published in Spanish, is generally quoted by the Latin title—Augustinus Tarraconensis, Dialogi de Nummis Veterum.

Ezechiel Spanheim—De præstantia et usu Numismatum; folio.

Banduri—Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum; folio.

[5] Since these remarks were written the Rev. C. W. King has suggested to me that the letters $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{III}}$ (so they should probably be read,) indicate the number of copper coins contained in the silver denarius, just as we find XII. on the obverse of Edward the Sixth's shillings. With the number 13, which may seem strange at first sight, compare the subdivision of the shilling into 13 pence at Jersey. The final letters A, B, Γ, &c., may perhaps denote distinct officinæ of the same mint. On the subject of mint-marks I must refer the reader to the valuable memoir "On Roman Coins struck in Britain," by Mr. De Salis, communicated at the meeting of the Archæological Institute, held in London, July, 1866. See Arch. Journ. vol. xxiv. p. 149.

This work treats of the later Roman emperors, from Trajanus Decius downwards.

Eckhel—Doctrina Numorum Veterum, especially vol. viii. For the Numi Votorum, *vide* vol. viii. p. 473.

Cohen—Les Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain, vols. v., vi., and vii. This work, being the last on the subject, and containing the most copious list of coins, is very useful to the collector; but the earlier numismatists must be consulted for the sake of references to ancient authors and other collateral information.

Sabatier—Production de l'Or, de l'Argent, et du Cuivre chez les Anciens, et hôtels monétaires des empires Romain et Byzantin. This work gives a list of the Roman mints, but is very defective in the explanation of the mint-marks.

Madden—Handbook of Roman Coins. This small and unpretending book affords much useful information, and the results of recent investigations.

I may take this opportunity of expressing my hope that numismatics and other branches of archæology may be more generally introduced into the higher education of our country. If classical studies are to maintain their ground, they must be pursued in a more realistic manner, and the authors of Greece and Rome illustrated by the remains of ancient art: where originals cannot be procured, they should be copied and reproduced by all the aids and appliances that modern ingenuity can devise. The great writers of antiquity will then cease to be mere lessons in philology; the student, as he peruses their works, will picture to himself the scenes which they describe, and for a time, at least, "live in the life of a bygone age."

These apparently insignificant memorials of the past are seen by the vulgar with indifference, and offer few attractions to the technical artist; but they are viewed by the antiquary with far different eyes. As he handles these pieces of copper that issued from the Roman mints more than fifteen hundred years ago, now coated with the rust of centuries, bearing characters almost illegible, and presenting effigies in the style of a degraded art, he thinks of the persons and events which they symbolize and record,—the close of the long struggle between Paganism and Christianity, the foundation of a new capital, and the establishment of a new

religion. He is reminded of the varied fortunes of the reigning family, of the piety of Helena, the crowning victory of Constantine, and the tragic fate of Crispus. His thoughts are carried away by the subject to lands and times alike remote; but they will revert to our own countryman,[6] the greatest of all historians, who has used so happily the coins and medals, as well as every other monument within his reach; who has woven the discordant statements of ancient writers into one harmonious narrative, who has shed the light of learning and genius on a period previously as obscure as it was interesting to the philosophical inquirer.[7]

Legends on Coins found near Woodbridge, Suffolk.

	Obverse.	Reverse.
1.	CONSTANTINVS AVG.	D. N. CONSTANTINI MAZ. AVG.
2.	———————	———————————
3.	———————	———————————
4.	———————	SARMATIA DEVICTA.
5 & 6.	———————	PROVIDENTIAE AVGG.
7.	———————	VIRTVS AVGG.
8.	———————	VIRTVS EXERCIT.
9.	CONSTANTINVS P. AVG.	BEATA TRANQVILLITAS.
10.	DIVO CONSTANTIO OPT. IMP.	REQVIES OPT. MER.
11 & 12.	CONSTANTINOPOLIS.	
13.	CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.	GLORIA EXERCITVS.
14.	CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C.	———————
15.	———————	[8] PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.
16.	———————	CAESARVM NOSTRORVM.
17.	———————	BEATA TRANQVILLITAS.
18.	D. N. FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES.	IOVI CONSERVATORI.
19.	FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.	CAESARVM NOSTRORVM.
20.	IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C.	———————
21.	FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.	GLORIA EXERCITVS.
22.	———————	PROVIDENTIAE CAESS.
23.	CONSTANS P. F. AVG.	GLORIA EXERCITVS.
24.	———————	VICTORIAE DD. AVGG. Q. NN.

[6] Gibbon.

[7] I beg to acknowledge with thanks the kind assistance I have received in preparing these remarks from Mr. Corkran, of the British Museum; Mr. Williams, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society; and my brother, Mr. S. S. Lewis, Fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[8] This legend appears to refer to the supply of corn provided for the Roman people by the care of the emperors. Compare the words Annona, Ubertas, Abundantia, Liberalitas, which often occur on the coins. For this subject, see Dictionary of Antiquities, s. v. *Frumentariæ Leges*, and Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, ed. 1865, vol. iv. pp. 391, 392.

	Obverse.	Reverse.
25.	FL. IVL. HELENAE AVG.	PAX PVBLICA.
26.	FL. MAX. THEODORA AVG.	[9] PIETAS ROMANA.
27.	VRBS ROMA.	
28.	DI. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG.	

[9] These words remind us of Virgil's "Pius Æneas," of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and of Sextus Pompeius, whose denarii are inscribed MAG. PIVS. IMP. ITER., and bear on the reverse, sometimes, Pietas, sometimes, the Catanæan Brothers—a type of filial devotion.

THE HOUSE OF PUDENS IN ROME.

By J. H. PARKER, F.S.A.

It is well known that the early history of the Bishops of Rome, afterwards called popes, is very obscure and of doubtful authenticity. The earliest historian is Damasus, who lived in the latter part of the fourth century, and must have relied on tradition for the history of the three previous centuries. He states that Pius I., who was bishop from 154 to 162, "made a church in the thermæ of Novatus, and dedicated it in honour of his sister Pudentiana, the martyr." The authenticity of this statement, which is printed in Anastasius, is disputed by Protestant historians, and warmly contended for by Roman Catholics. Pius I. is said to have been a brother of the Pastor Hermas, who wrote the celebrated treatise called by his name, the genuineness of which is also a matter of dispute. If the Roman Catholic historians can be accepted, Pius *was* the brother of this Pastor Hermas, and the grandson of Pudens, the Roman senator, and the friend of St. Paul. The coincidences are very great respecting the family of Pudens as being among the earliest Christians, and the most important family of Christians in Rome. The legends of the Greek Church and those of the ancient British Church, now called the Welsh, agree substantially with the Roman legends respecting this family. The connection of Pudens with the British royal family, and his marriage with Gladys, the daughter of Caractacus, is a staunch matter of belief in Wales. These legends have been collected by a Welsh clergyman of the name of Morgan,[1] now an archdeacon. Some of the leading facts are confirmed by Tacitus,[2] and by Martial in his epigrams.[3]

[1] Morgan's St. Paul in Britain, 12mo. Oxford, 1861, p. 114 to 129.

[2] Annals of Tacitus, Book xii. c. 33 to 38.

[3] Martialis Epigram. lib. i. 32; lib. iv. 13:—

AD RUFUM DE NUPTIIS PUDENTIS ET CLAUDIÆ PEREGRINÆ.

Ibid. lib. iv. 29, "AD PUDENTEM;" lib. v. 48; lib. vi. 58; lib. vii. 97:—

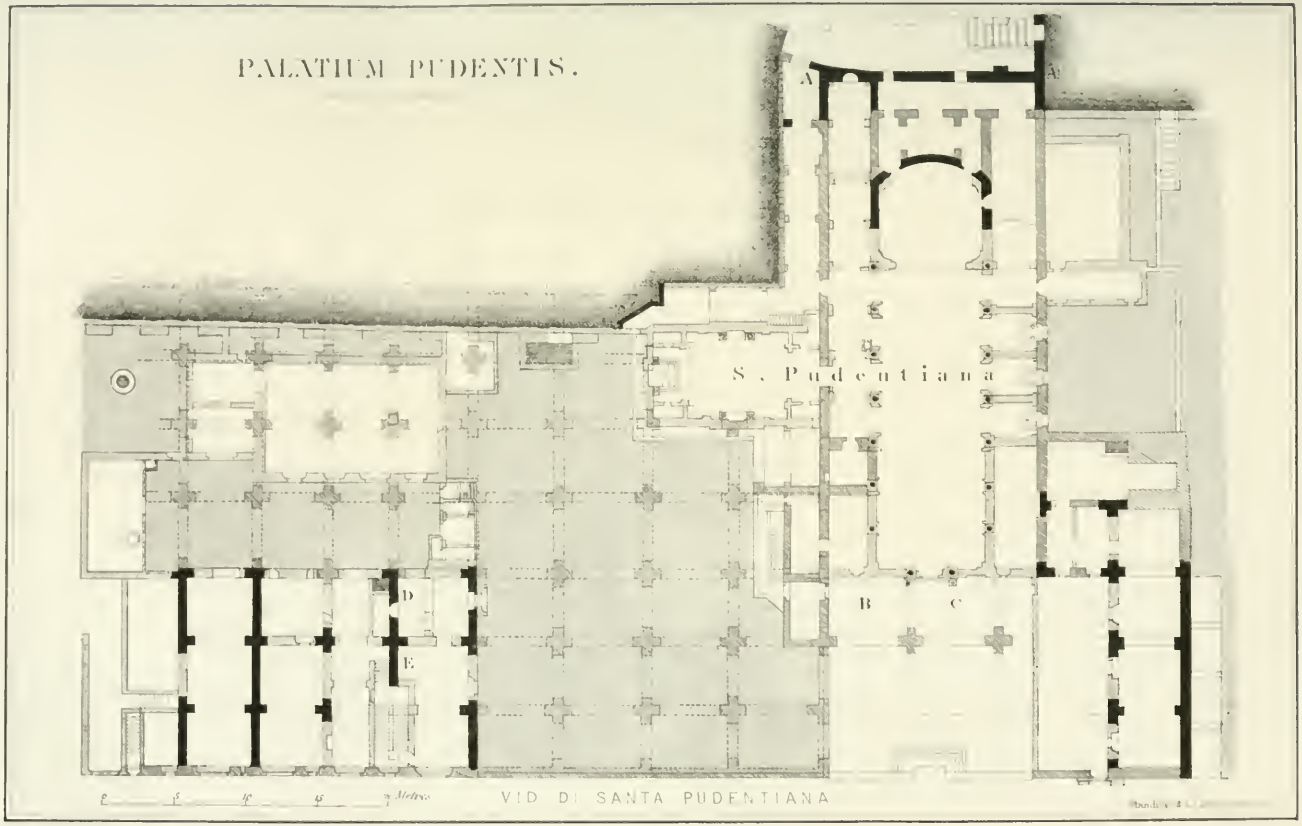
"DE CLAUDIA RUFINA.

"Claudia cœruleis cum sit Rufina Brittannis
Edita, quam Latiæ pectore plebis habet!
Quale decus formæ," &c. lib. xi. 53.

Another incidental confirmation of the connection of the family of Pudens with Britain is afforded by the well-known inscription found at Chichester, and preserved in the park of Goodwood, near to that city. This inscription records the grant of land for building a temple by Pudens in his capacity of governor of the southern province of Britain.

It is now generally acknowledged that the Acts of the Martyrs and the Roman Martyrology were compiled in the eighth or ninth century, and are in themselves of no historical authority. They are compiled from various sources of very different authenticity, but the Acts of Justin Martyr have generally been allowed to be genuine, and in these we have strong testimony in favour of the history of the house of Pudens. When S. Justin is being examined by the Prefect he is asked "in what place the Christians were accustomed to assemble in Rome?" At first he evades the question, saying that they do not all assemble at the same place; but, as the Prefect presses the question again as to where he himself has resided in Rome, he replies, in the house of a certain Martin, in the baths of Timotheus, which is another name for the baths or *thermæ* of Novatus, *made in* the house of Pudens. Timotheus was another member of the same family. According to the traditions of the Roman Church, this senator's large family palace, in a part of which hot-air baths, called by the Greek name of *thermæ*, had been made, and afterwards abandoned, was the usual abode of all foreign Christians coming to Rome, a sort of gratuitous hostel open to all fellow-Christians coming with proper certificates.

The archæological evidence is strongly in favour of the truth of these traditions; the existing remains of some great palace of the first century, with alterations of the second, are very distinct. It was built against the southern cliff of the Viminal Hill. The cellars under the houses in the Via di S. Pudentiana (originally called the Vicus Patricius) consist of a series of long, narrow, vaulted chambers, the arches of which are built of the fine brick-work of the first century, several of which are supported by other arches under them, and these lower arches are of the character of the second century. The subterranean church is formed out of three of these long, narrow, vaulted chambers, with arches pierced through the walls, and with clerestory windows made over them. These windows must have opened into an area, and so


PALATIUM PUDENTIS.
A
A
S. Pudentiana
B
C
D
E
VID DI SANTA PUDENTIANA


TEMPLE

were just below the level of the ground, and therefore out of sight. The whole arrangement was admirably calculated to avoid observation in times of persecution, but the persecutions usually lasted a few months only ; at other times the Christians were treated in the same manner as other citizens, and were governed by the same laws. They could and did assemble in each other's houses in ordinary times, and as their numbers increased the usual place of assembly became the basilica, or great hall, the largest room in the house. This was evidently the case in the house of Pudens, as the present church of S. Pudentiana stands in the original hall of the palace, and the outer wall of it can be seen behind the altar, with the large hall windows in it of the first century, filled up with brick-work of the second century, so nearly resembling the original construction that it is not easy at first sight to distinguish them. The original construction of the wall and of the arches of the hall windows agrees perfectly with that of the arches in the cellars and in the subterranean church.

According to the Roman traditions the *thermæ* of Novatus had been abandoned, and were not in use when the church was made. There is a remarkable confirmation of this in the remains of the subterranean church : in the angles of the chambers we find hot-air flues *cut in the wall* of the first century, which must have been done before the arches were pierced to make the church, and could not have been then in use. After the arches were made they could not have used it as a sweating-bath, what we now call a Turkish or Russian bath, which corresponds exactly with the *thermæ* of ancient Rome, and these *thermæ* of Novatus must have been out of use when the arches were pierced, which appears to have been in the second century, to judge by the construction of the brick arches, and so agreeing with the tradition. One objection to the genuineness of the dedication by Pius I. is that when the first Roman synod was held at the end of the fifth century, in the year 499, Asterius Justinus, the priest who attended the synod, is called "*Presbyter* Tituli *Pudentis*." This appears to me rather to confirm the tradition that this church was made in the house of Pudens, and was called indifferently either by that general name, or by that of different members of the family.

Pompeius Ugonius, who was living in the sixteenth century, at the time that this church was rebuilt by the Gaetani, was a friend of that great family, and an eye-witness and careful observer of what was seen in his time, of which he has left us a record in his book on the "Stations of Rome;"[4] his testimony is therefore very important. He states that on one of the capitals was an inscription recording that Valerius Messala, prefect of the city, had caused some building (the name of which was unfortunately obliterated) in the Vicus Patricius to be made and adorned in a splendid manner for the public.[5] He also saw a marble sarcophagus in the courtyard with the inscription:—LEOPARDO ET MAXIMO. These are said by Panvinius to have been cardinal priests under Innocent I. (A.D. 402—407). Leopardus is mentioned by Anastasius,[6] as rebuilding the church of St. Agnes. On the wall behind the high altar was another marble slab with the inscription:—ETILICIO · LEOPARDO · ET · MAXIMO, but Ugonius thinks that this slab may have been moved from another place. Over the altar in the side chapel, where the wooden slab or table is preserved, on which S. Peter is said to have celebrated the Eucharist, was another inscription in Mosaic letters,—MAXIMVS · FECIT · CVM · SVIS. This altar is the one at the end of the north aisle, which was rebuilt by Cardinal Wiseman. It will be seen by the ground plan of the church that this aisle, with the chapel at the end of it, projects considerably beyond the line of the high altar, and extends to the outer wall, whereas the high altar is brought considerably within it, and has a chamber or sacristy behind it. The apse, with the present fine Mosaic picture upon it, also stands quite detached from the outer wall, and considerably within it. The Mosaic inscription over the side altar could therefore have nothing to do with the Mosaic picture over the high altar, but on the contrary evidently belongs to a different period. On the wall that separates the chapel from the choir and the high altar is a marble slab, with the name SIRICIVS EPISCOPVS. It has the appearance of having been built in when the wall was rebuilt, but being in the lower part of the wall it may be in its original place, the

[4] "Historia delle Stationi di Roma che si celebrano la Quadrigesima, di Pompii Ugonio."—Roma, 1588, 12mo.

[5] ". . . . S VAL MESSALA V. C. PRAEFECTVS VRBI . . . SPLENDOREM PVBLICVM IN VICO PATRICIO VICTORIAE ET FIERI ET ORNARI PROCVRAVIT."—Ugonii Stationi, p. 161.

[6] Anastasius, S. INNOCENTIVS, 57.

upper part of the wall only being rebuilt. The low wall with the inscription upon it is stated by Ugonius to have been part of the marble screen to enclose the choir, erected in the time of Innocent III. (A.D. 1198—1216), by Cardinal Sasso, as recorded by another inscription. Old marble was no doubt used for the purpose. The character of the letters of the name of Siricius agrees with the fourth century. It appears probable that the heads in panels of shallow sculpture built in as a lintel over the doorway in the sixteenth century were originally part of this screen to enclose the choir, in which were also the Ambones; but this does not decide the date, as they might also be old marble. Siricius was bishop from 385 to 397, and there were only five years between him and Innocent I. It is therefore probable that the church was rebuilding during these two episcopates, and that the old hall or basilica was then pulled down, excepting the end wall behind the altar.

The church was entirely rebuilt under Hadrian I. (A.D. 772—795), as recorded by Anastasius,[7] who says that the church was then in ruins. His exact words here are important: he calls it the "Titulus of Pudens," that is, the church of St. Pudentiana.

Leo III.[8] (A.D. 795—816) is recorded by Anastasius to have given a silver *corona lucis* and a white silk vestment to this church, and may have done more; the sculpture of the heads may be of his time, the rebuilding being only then completed.

In one of the side chapels of the lower church there is a painting of the eighth century, which is published in Perret's work on the Catacombs. It represents the Madonna between S. Pudentiana and S. Prassede. This painting I once saw about five years since, by descending on a ladder through the opening in the pavement of a side chapel in the upper church into the chapel of the lower church, this then being converted into a family burial vault; as bodies have since been buried in it, it is now impossible to descend into it. The arch from this chapel to the aisle of the lower church was walled up at that time.

Another battle-ground in this church is the Mosaic picture in the apse, one of the finest Mosaic pictures in Rome, re-

[7] "Titulum Pudentis, id est ecclesiam Sanctæ Pudentianæ in ruinis positam noviter renovavit." Anastas. 343.

[8] Anastas. 425.

specting the date of which there is the greatest difference of opinion among the learned. The Roman school contend that it is of the fourth century, when the upper church was rebuilt. The church was again partially rebuilt in the eleventh century, as indicated by an inscription on the wall of the north aisle, which gives a date to that wall. The last general rebuilding was made at the expense of the Gaetani family in the sixteenth century, as we now see it, and at that time the nave was shortened considerably ; the square court between the present front and the street having formerly been part of this church, with some of the subterranean chambers of the house of Pudens under it. The new front, now being rebuilt by Cardinal Bonaparte, is only on the site of the one built by the Gaetani, still leaving the old doorway with the shallow sculpture over it, which may have been of the eighth century, or possibly of the twelfth ; this kind of shallow sculpture is usually of the eighth or ninth, but in Rome old fashions lingered long, and the Latin verses round the heads of the family of Pudens are very much like those common in the twelfth century.

Ugonius states that he found among the fragments of the mosaics on the ground the monogram of HADRIANUS, which he called *Tertius*, without any authority, as he gives a woodcut of the monogram in which no indication of the number occurs. This appears to be strong evidence that this mosaic picture was made when the church was rebuilt, about 780. He also found other letters forming part of the name of Hadrianus as of part of another inscription.

A great deal has been said about the antique character of this mosaic picture, which is called the finest in Rome, but I cannot myself see the *antique* character ; it cannot be earlier than the end of the fourth century, when the church was built on the site of the old basilica, making use of the old crypt and outer wall only. Of that period we have no mosaics in the least resembling it, and the remarkable mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, which belong to the early part of the fifth century, or not many years after this, are of quite a different style of work and of drawing. Those are also entirely composed of scriptural subjects, whereas these have two figures of saints—Pudentiana and Prassede,—and the emblems of the Evangelists in the clouds. It is true that these are represented in a peculiar manner, unlike any

others in Rome ; but the style of workmanship and of drawing does not agree with the mosaics in S. Constantia a few years earlier, or those in S. Maria Maggiore a few years later, and agrees much more nearly with those in the sister church of S. Prassede a few years after the time of Hadrian I. The difference is about thirty years, which may be sufficient to account for the difference between them.

It is true, also, that there is a remarkable resemblance between the buildings in the back-ground of the picture under those emblems and those represented on a sarcophagus of the fourth century now in the Lateran Museum, both being separate buildings, with circular domed roofs, and doorways with gratings over them, similar to the door of the Pantheon, evidently an old Roman custom. Each of the Apostles sits in front of a door of this kind, in evident allusion to the book of Revelation. This resemblance in design and execution can hardly be accidental ; but there is no improbability in supposing that this very sarcophagus might have been used as a model by the mosaicist centuries afterwards. This seems more probable than that the mosaic should be unlike any other of the period. The central figure of Christ, with the label, having the inscription *Dominus Conservator Ecclesia Pudentiana*, is an evident *restoration* of the sixteenth century. The mosaic has been much repaired and *restored* in many parts and at different times.

There appears to be strong evidence that this fine mosaic picture was one of the earliest works of the Schola Græca in Rome, the colony of Byzantine Greek artists who took refuge in Rome from the Iconoclasts about that time, and had a dwelling assigned to them at the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, so called from the rich decorations of these artists. In the time of Ugonius, the mosaic over the side altar, with the inscription, was still in existence ; it has since been destroyed. The outer side-wall of that chapel was rebuilt in the time of Gregory VII., A.D. 1073—1085, by Cardinal Benedictus, as recorded by an inscription. The exterior of this wall is an excellent example of that peculiar mode of construction called *herring-bone* work ; this was very frequently used in the eleventh century. The present church, with its low vaulted nave, and with the columns cased in square brick pillars, and with all the characteristics

of the ugliest of debased periods, is entirely the work of the Gaetani family, and was much admired in its time. The very elegant campanile belongs to the end of the twelfth century, the time of Innocent III., A.D. 1198—1216. The chapel of the Gaetani is on the left hand in entering the nave, and is very handsome in its details, with really fine sculpture and mosaic pictures of the modern school; one of these (over the door) represents the saints Pudentiana and Prassede collecting the blood of the martyrs according to the legends, and employing *sponges* for that purpose.

The relics of three thousand saints are said to be buried in this church. Of course this means only that such relics were brought from the catacombs when the church was rebuilt in the eighth century; but it is absurdly misrepresented, and ignorant people are taught that they were all thrown down the well, with a grating of the thirteenth century over it, on the left hand side of the nave, and a light is let down to show the bones at the bottom, which are renewed from time to time.

It has been said that the house or palace of the Pudens family was built up against the cliff of the Viminal Hill, on the southern side, the Vicus Patricius of the time of the Republic and the Empire was made in the great fosse or trench in the valley under that cliff, and that the street now called the Via di S. Pudentiana is in the same line though at a higher level. On the opposite side of the Viminal Hill, built against the northern cliff, are remains of another street of the same kind, in the same line that a new street is now being made. Against the upper part of the cliff are remains of towers with tufa walls of the time of the kings, belonging to the original Arx of the Viminal, and concrete walls of a house of the time of the Republic; and on the sloping banks are remains of the lavacrum of Agrippina, of the time of Augustus, which was identified by an inscription found on the walls. There are still some interesting remains of mosaic pavements and painted chambers of the first century, and the aqueduct to supply the baths or washing places. This is ingeniously contrived in such a manner that one tunnel served for both purposes, there being a small channel for pure water let into the upper part of a drain. The same convenient arrangement may be seen in the Cloaca Maxima, near St. Georgio in Velabro.

These interesting remains on the northern slope of the Viminal have been made more visible by the excavations of the Archæological Society in 1871.

REFERENCES TO THE GROUND PLAN.

A A Wall of the first century, with Hall Windows of the second.

B C Chambers excavated in 1870, formerly under the nave of the church.

D E Chambers of the first century, with alterations of the second, now cellars.

ON A MONUMENT IN THE CLOISTER OF ST. MARIA ANNUNCIATA, AT FLORENCE.

By W. BURGES.

Few travellers who go to Florence fail to visit the famous Madonna del Sacco in the great cloister of the Church of the Annunciata. Close to the *chef d'œuvre* of Andrea del Sarto is a marble monument, which will hardly claim notice except from the antiquary, but which has a history as stirring as those connected with the monuments of Athens or of Rome; and as the battle of Marathon was the commencement of the supremacy of Athens, the fight at Campoldino gave Florence the predominance in Tuscany.

The monument in the cloister of the Annunciata consists of three principal slabs of marble, forming an oblong panel, in the centre of which rises a low pediment. There is also a base below and a label above, formed of sundry other pieces of marble. In the midst of the panel, in high relief, is a warrior on horseback: the rest of the ground being occupied by two ornaments; that on the dexter side is a conventional tree, with a couple of birds on the topmost branches, while the sinister side has simply a flat circular boss, not unlike the ornament a modern builder puts up in the centre of a drawing-room ceiling. On the flat space which occurs between the moulding of the bottom of the panel and the base there is the following inscription in Lombardic characters:—

ANI · DNI · MCCLXXXIX · HIC · JACET
DNS · GULLIELMUS · BALIUS · OLIM · DNI ·
AMERIGI · DE · NERBONA.

At present the monument is placed against the wall, the base resting on the ground; but from its shape the conjecture may, perhaps, be hazarded that it may have been placed over the lintel of a doorway, which would account

DVS·GVILLELMVS·BARLSOVM·DNS·FABARIGI·DE·NARBONA



for its extreme length in proportion to its height, and the employment of the foliage on either side of the figure.

Curiously enough, a nearly similar figure, only of earlier date and of ruder workmanship, occurs on the side of a sarcophagus in the museum at Toulouse. The arms on the shield have also a certain resemblance to those on the monument at Florence. The principal points to be noticed in the latter are—1. The shape of the helmet. 2. The direction of the bands of mail at the chin. 3. The edge of the breastplate under the surcoat. 4. The direction of the bands of mail on the arm, one band being left uncarved, as if to show the attachment of the glove. 5. The adjuncts to the thighs, the knees and the shins. Mr. Hewitt, who has described and engraved this figure from the Kerrich collection in the British Museum, thinks that the "abundance of ornament seems to imply a moulded material, cuir bouilli," but of course there is no authority for this opinion, as the ornament was just as likely to be beaten out of metal as moulded in leather. 6. The shoes, which are likely to have been made of leather, in which case the circles may possibly indicate brass ornaments or nails. 7. The crescent shape of the dagger pommel. This is found as late as the beginning of the 15th century, in the woodcuts of Burgmaier. 8. The covering of the horse, which appears to be simply of cloth, and shows no appearance of mail beneath. 9. The surcoat of the knight, powdered with fleur-de-lys down to the waist, but below quite plain. At present there are no vestiges of paint upon the monument, although the plate of it in Bonnard's "Costumes"[1] is highly coloured and the drawing improved.

Now as regards the state of art shown in this sculpture. If we remember its date, and if we compare it with contemporary works in France and England, we cannot fail to be astonished at its comparative rudeness, even when we take into account the extra difficulty of the material, viz., white marble. Because Italy at a later period did take the lead in the arts, some authors choose to imagine that she always did so, and it is thus that we see the statement continually repeated, that the effigies of Henry III. and Queen Eleanor were the work of a Florentine of the

[1] Costumes Historiques des XIII., XIV., et XV. siècles, par Camille Bonnard. London: Colnaghi, 1841, No. 42.

name of Torelli; whereas, we know that William Torel was a citizen of London, and that the name occurs in the Domesday Book. But apart from all documentary evidences, a careful comparison of the 13th century sculpture in Italy and of that of France and England, will be entirely in favour of the latter two countries: and this tomb at Florence is only one example out of many.

The circumstances which led to the death of the tutor of Amerigo de Narbonne, and consequently to the erection of the monument, are very fully described by Giovanni Villani, from whom I extract the following account, merely premising that Florence and Arezzo were at the time in question at war with each other, for the great reason, *inter alia*, that Florence belonged to the Guelph party, whereas Arezzo held for the Ghibelline. At the same time Charles II. of Naples had been liberated from his captivity in Spain, and was then going from France to take possession of his kingdom. His father, the great Charles d'Anjou, having been dead some three years.[2]

"In the said year (1289), on the 2nd of May, there came to Florence the Prince Charles, son of the great King Charles, who, returning from France, and on his way to Rieti to the Pope, was received by the Florentines with great honour and presents, and after stopping three days in Florence he left to make journey by way of Siena. The prince being asked by the Commune of Florence for a captain of war, and to allow them to carry the Royal standard with their host, he granted their request, and knighted Amerigo di Nerbona, a great gentleman, brave and wise in war, and gave them him for captain, and the said Messer Amerigo with his company, above a hundred mounted men, came to Florence with the aforesaid cavalry, and the prince went to court and was honourably received by Pope Nicholas."

Dino Compagni,[3] also a contemporary of the events in question, in his Cronica Fiorentina, gives rather a different account of Messer Amerigo. He says that "the prince left with them Messer Amerigo di Nerbona, his baron and gentleman, young and handsome in body, but not very expert in

[2] Cronica di Giovanni Villani, lib. 7, cap. cxxx Firenze per il Magheri, 1823. I have endeavoured to translate the extract as literally as the idiom of the language will allow.

[3] Cronica Fiorentina di Dino di Compagni. Firenze: Barbera Bianchi, 1858, p. 17.

deeds of arms, but there remained with him an old knight, his tutor (Balio), and many other knights apt and expert in war, and with great pay and rations."

Villani then proceeds to tell us how the Florentines having got the royal standard and Messer Amerigo, immediately proceeded to make use of them, for on the 13th of May they set out on an expedition against Arezzo. In the enumeration of the forces we are informed that there were one thousand six hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, of which there were six hundred citizens with horses, the best armed and mounted that ever went out from Florence, and four hundred soldiers with the people of the Captain Messer Amerigo in the pay of the Florentines. Now, in the previous chapter Villani says that Amerigo had about one hundred men on horseback; we must therefore suppose that he had also three hundred foot soldiers in addition, or that that number of mercenaries had been added to his troup. The actual battle which took place on the 11th of June is thus described by Villani:

"And the Florentines having joyfully received the challenge of a battle, the two hosts mutually skirmished and faced each other in better order than had ever been done in Italy, in the plain at the foot of Poppi, in a country called Certomundo, for so the place is named; and there is a church of minor friars close by, and a plain which is called Campoldino, and this happened on a Saturday morning the 11th day of the month of June, the day of St. Barnabas the Apostle.

"Messer Amerigo and the other captains of the Florentines skirmished well and in good order. Making a vanguard (feditori) of one hundred and fifty of the best of the host, among which were twenty new knights who were then made. And Messer Vieri De'cerchi, one of the captains, having a bad leg, persisted in being one of the vanguard, and having to choose his men, he wished to have nobody against his will, but chose his son and his nephew. For which thing he had great praise, and through his good example, and through shame, many other noble citizens put themselves in the vanguard. This being done, on either wing of the pavisers were placed cross-bowmen and foot soldiers with long lances; and behind the vanguard the great battalion (of cavalry), also with foot soldiers on the wings.

Behind all was the baggage collected together, so as to retain the great battalion, and without the said battalion were placed two hundred knights, with foot soldiers from Lucca and from Pistoia, and other strangers, of whom the captain was Messer Corso Donati, who was then Podestà at Pistoia, whose duty it was, if he saw occasion, to take the enemy on the flank."

Villani's description of the arrangement of the army is very obscure, but I have given what appears to me to be his meaning. Dino Compagni tells us—"The captains of the war put the vanguard (feditori) in the front of the army, and the pavisers with the white field and red lily were drawn up before them. Then the Bishop (of Arezzo), who was short-sighted, asked, 'what are those walls?' To which it was replied, 'the pavisers of the enemy.'"

Villani thus continues: "The Aretini on their part ordered wisely their battalions, for they had, as we have said before, good captains, and they made a vanguard of three hundred, among whom they had chosen twelve of the largest size, who were called the twelve paladins; and the word being given to the host on either side, the Florentines 'Nerbona cavaliere,' and the Aretini, 'San Donato cavaliere,' the vanguard of the Aretini, with great spirit, charged at gallop the host of the Florentines; and the other battalions followed after, excepting that the Conte Guido Novello, who, with a company of a hundred and fifty men, with instructions to make a flank charge, was afraid to go into the battle, but stood still, and then went off to his castle. The charge and assault of the Aretini on the Florentines was such as might be expected from excellent men-at-arms, whose intention was to break and put the Florentines to flight at the first attack, and so strong was the shock that most of the vanguard of the Florentines were unhorsed, and the great battalion was beaten back a good deal; but they did not lose their spirit, nor did they break, but received the enemy with constancy and fortitude; and the wings on either side of the foot soldiers enclosed the enemy between them fighting bravely a good time. Then Messer Corso Donati, who was apart with the people of Lucca and Pistoia, and who had been ordered to remain still and not to fight, under penalty of his head, when he saw the battle begun, said, like a valiant man, 'If we lose, I wish to die in

the fight with my fellow-citizens, and if we conquer, let who likes come to Pistoia to see me condemned.' He then put his company in motion, and charged the enemy on the flank, and was the great cause of their rout; and when he had done this, as it pleased God, the Florentines had the victory, and the Aretini were broken and discomfited, and there were killed more than one thousand seven hundred of horse and foot, and there were taken more than two thousand, of whom many even of the best escaped, some through friendship, others by ransom, but there were led bound into Florence seven hundred and forty. Among the dead there remained Messer Guiglielmino degli Ubertini, Bishop of Arezzo, who was a great warrior, and Messer Guiglielmino de' Pazzi di Valdarno and his nephews, who was the best and most experienced captain of war in Italy of his time. And there died Bonconte, son of Count Guido da Montefeltro, and three of the Uberti, and one of the Abati, and two of the Griffoni da Fegghine, and many more Florentine exiles, besides Guiderello d'Alessandro da Orbivieto, who carried the imperial banner, and many others. On the side of the Florentines no man of note was killed, except Messer Guiglielmo Berardi, tutor of Messer Amerigo de Nerbona and Messer Bindo del Baschiera de' Tosinghi and Tuci de Visdomini, but many other citizens and strangers were wounded. The news of this victory came to Florence the same day and at the same hour at which it took place; for when after breakfasting the Priori had gone to sleep and to rest themselves on account of the care and watchfulness of the past night, suddenly the door of the chamber was knocked at, and a voice cried 'Get up, for the Aretini are discomfited,' and they did get up and opened the door, but found nobody, and their servants who were without, heard nothing; whence it was held to be a marvellous and notable thing, for it was the hour of vespers before any one came from the battle with the news. And this is true, for I both heard and saw it, and all the Florentines wondered whence this arose, and they were very anxious. But when those arrived who came from the host, and brought the news to Florence, there was great joy, and well they might be joyful. For in that discomfiture there were killed many captains and valiant men of the Ghibelline party, and enemies of the Commune of Florence; and there was abated

the pride not only of the Aretini, but also of the Ghibelline party, and of that of the empire."

Thus far Villani. The account of Dino Compagni is much shorter, if not quite so clear, but it has all the appearance of being the description of an eye-witness, who would naturally remember the discomforts of the clouds, the dust, and the bolts. I venture to give it, as it is so seldom that the historian is an eye-witness of the events he describes :—

"Messer Baroni de Mangiadoro da San Miniato, a brave and expert knight in matters of war, having collected the men-at-arms, said to them :—'Gentlemen,—In the wars in Tuscany we have been accustomed to conquer by assault. They did not last long, and few men died, for it was not the custom to kill them (? prisoners). Now the fashion has changed, and we conquer by standing firm. I, therefore, advise you to stand well, and let them assail,' and thus they settled to do. The Aretini assailed so vigorously, and with such force, that the battalion of the Florentines was driven back a good deal. The battle was very fierce and hard. New knights were made, both on one side and on the other. Messer Corso Donati, with his command of the Pistolesi, charged the enemy on the flank. The bolts came down like rain. The Aretini had few of them, and were charged on the flank, where they were unprotected. The air was covered with clouds, the dust was very great. The foot-soldiers of the Aretini crawled under the bellies of the horses, with knives in their hands, and ripped them up, and they got through their vanguard so far that, in the midst of the battalion, there were many dead on either side. Many that day who were esteemed of great valour were found out to be cowards ; and many who had never been talked about were esteemed. Much praise had the tutor of the captain, and there was he killed."

Ammirato, in his Istorie Fiorentine, edition 1647, copies his account of the battle from Villani, but, in his enumeration of the Florentine losses, the following passage occurs :— ". . . . and the tutor of the captain, a knight of great worth, named Guglielmo Bertaldi, whose sepulchre is to be seen at the present day in the cloister of the Nunciata ; he much distinguished himself in this deed of arms"

It will be observed that both the monument and Dino Compagni are silent as to the surname of the tutor of

Amerigo, while Villani and Ammirato give us respectively Berardi and Bertaldi. However, as the former was a contemporary of the event, we may well prefer his authority to that of Ammirato, who did not write until the end of the sixteenth century.

I have made an ineffective search for the arms sculptured on the monument, in the hope that it might confirm one or other of the two names. In the Priorista di Firenze in the British Museum (Egerton, 1170), under the year 1363, the name of Berardi occurs, but the arms have no resemblance whatever with those on the monument. But after all, it is to France that we must refer for any information respecting the person commemorated.

In Vaissette's Histoire Générale de Languedoc we find the name of Berard occurring several times. Thus we come across a Comte Berard, podestà of Avignon, under the year 1240. Now as the person in question is described, both by Villani and Dino Compagni, as an old knight, it is just within the bounds of probability that this may be the same person.

From the document in Vaissette, vol. vi., p. 418, it appears that the Vicar-general of the Emperor demanded the Count of Toulouse (Raymond VII.) to give up the government (podesteria) of the city of Avignon into his hands. This the Count refused to do, alleging that he himself held the government to the honour and profit of the Emperor; "and that because Count Berard would not or could not give up (refere) the aforesaid city of Avignon there was a great scandal in the town, so that the enemies of the Emperor rose up in arms against the aforesaid Count Berard, proposing to expel Count Berard himself from the city, and to make a government of their own, whence the whole city, if they obtained their object, would be against our Lord the Emperor, and with the Count of Provence, and with the clergy, and all on account of the defective government of Count Berard, and thus at the prayer of the Count Berard himself, and at the prayer of the general council and parliament of the said city of Avignon, he (the Count of Toulouse) received the government (podesteria) of the aforesaid city," &c.

This, and an allusion to him in another document, in which he is mentioned in connection with the people of

Avignon, is all that I have been enabled to find concerning the subject of the present notice; but it is very possible, considering the time between the date of the document and the battle of Campoldino—some forty years—that the podestà of Avignon may have been an ancestor of the knight commemorated by the monument, instead of the knight himself.

Some day, perhaps, when the Florentine archives shall have been properly examined, we may be able to discover whether the tomb was erected by the gratitude of the Republic or by the friendship of Amerigo.

Concerning the latter, Vaissette, in the Histoire de Languedoc, gives the following account, although omitting to mention his authority (l. 28, c. 9). After telling us that Amalric, son of the Vicomte of Narbonne, accompanied Charles II. of Sicily into Italy, and was appointed by Charles to the command of the Florentine forces, he thus proceeds :—

"Amalric had led with him a hundred knights from the Vicomté of Narbonne, or from the rest of the province, who entered under his banner into the service of the Guelfs, and having entered into campaign, he carried off several advantages; among which was the victory over the Aretines, the 11th of June following. The people of Florence were so delighted with this victory that they ran in crowds to meet Amalric, who was carried upon the lances of the soldiers. They covered him with a cloth of gold and made him a magnificient entry into the town."

The reputation of the exploits of Amalric caused all the Guelph towns, who were leagued together under the title of Société de Toscane, to elect him in January, 1290, the captain of a corps of 450 knights, who were engaged at their expense to continue the war against the Ghibellines for the space of a year. Among this number there were thirty knights who were called De Corredo. These had already given proof, and had grown old in the exercise of arms. They had the right to wear gilt spurs. The wages of each of these knights was a florin a day. Amalric served with distinction the Florentines and other people of the Société de Toscane during the years 1290 and 1291. On the 4th of December of this last year the syndic of the people of Florence declared that the noble and magnificent

man, the Lord Almeric, the eldest son of the illustrious and magnificent man, the Lord Aymeri, Viscount and Lord of Narbonne, captain general "militum et equitatorum taillæ communitatum Tosciæ," since the first of January of the preceding year up to the first of January following, had perfectly fulfilled his engagements. Amalric recrossed the Alps in the month of January, 1292. On his return he succeeded to his father, was employed in various offices by Philip le Bel, and died in 1325.

A great deal more may be written concerning the battle of Campoldino, more especially of its connection with Dante and the Divina Comedia. All the biographers assert that the poet served in this battle among the cavalry under the command of Messer Mangiadori di Sanminiato. Arrivabene,[4] quoting from Ammirato, refers to a letter of Dante, now lost, in which occur the following words :—"In the battle of Campoldino the Ghibelline party was almost entirely killed and undone. I was there as a young man, and I was in great fear, but in the end I had great joy on account of the various occurrences of the battle."

Every student of Dante will remember the beautiful episode of Buonconti de Montefeltro in the Purgatorio ; but nearly every name connected with the battle is more or less interwoven into the great Christian poem.

[4] Il secolo di Dante, Monza, 1838, p. 172.

Original Documents.

AN EXTENT OR SURVEY BY INQUISITION OF THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

This is the earliest extent or survey of Glamorgan which has yet been discovered, and probably the earliest now in existence. Though not dated, it is one of a roll of ten documents relating to the same county, also without date, but which are referred to in the Calendar as of the 8th year of Edward I. Before admitting the precise correctness of this date, explanation is needed how it happened that an inquest undertaken, as some of these are stated to be, and this, from its company, probably was, "per preceptum domini Regis," should go forward when the lordship was not in the hands of the Crown. Gilbert, the Red Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, son and heir of Earl Richard by his second wife Matilda, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, on the death of his father, 46 H. III., was of full age, as appears by his having livery at once of the inheritance, which he held unmolested till the 18th of Ed. I. In that year in consequence of a breach of the peace between Earl Gilbert and the Earl of Hereford, and of an impending marriage with the king's daughter, Earl Gilbert surrendered his estates to the king, who immediately regranted them, on his marriage, with a new settlement.

The Earl died 24 Ed. I., leaving his son and heir, Gilbert, the last earl, then five years of age. Hence the royal precept is not likely to bear date the 8th of Ed. I., but may have been issued in the very short interval between the surrender and the re-grant, 18 Ed. I., or during the subsequent minority, which lasted from the 24th of Ed. I. to the 4th of Ed. II., 1295—1311; or, finally, which is perhaps most probable, the Inquisition may have been taken in 46th of Hen. III., 1262, on the death of Earl Richard, notwithstanding the majority of his son, and before his livery was granted.

Though generally well preserved, the parchment is in one place torn or worn away, and in another so decayed as not to be legible. Unfortunately, almost the only words wanting are the figures declaring the total of the rents of the free tenants, and the complete revenue of the county; sums which can only be conjecturally supplied from two later documents of the same character taken in the succeeding reigns.

[Wallia. Bag 1, No. 15. Department of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer in the Public Record Office.]

Extenta Comitatus de Glammorgan facta per sacramentum Roberti de Sumeri, Willielmi le Flemmene, Johannis le Norreis, Henrici Odin, Wil-

lielmi Juel [or Ivel], Willielmi de Barry, Ivel filii Roberti, S[imonis de B]onevile, Adami Walensis, Elie Basset, Philippi de Nereberd, et Philippi le Soor. Qui jurati dicunt quod redditus liberorum tenencium comita[tus] i^{d}. Et de Wardis feodorum militum xij^{li}. v^{s}. Et de placitis et perquisitis comitatus per estimacionem xxx^{li}

Summa li. viij^{s}. ij^{d}.

FEODA MILITUM.

[Robertus] de [So]mer[i] tenet ij feoda et dimid. . . . Dinas Powis et per estimacionem valent lx^{li}.

Johannes de Cogan tenet ij feoda in Cogan et valent x^{li}.

Heres Gilberti de Costantin i feodum in Costantinestun valet x^{li}.

Walterus de Sulye iiij feoda scilicet ij feoda in Sulye cum pertinenciis valent xx^{li} et ij feoda in Wnvo valent x^{li}.

Walterus de Gloucestria dimidium feodi in Wrenchestun valet c solidos.

Willielmus le Soor j feodum in Sancto Fagano valet x^{li}.

Willielmus Corbet tenet iij feoda in capite in St. Nicholas et tenentur de eodem in feodum.

Gilbertus Vmfravile iiij feoda in Penmare cum pertinenciis et valent lx^{li}.

Willielmus de Kayrduf dimidium feodi in Lanririd valet x^{li}.

Philippus de Nereberd iiij feoda in Abrouthawe cum pertinenciis valent xv^{li}.

Adam Walensis j feodum in Landochhe valet x^{li}.

Johannes le N[orreis] in Penthlin valent xv^{li}.

Willielmus de Wincestre j feodum in Landau valet xv^{li}.

In Lanmais j feodum de quo Walterus de Sulie tenet ij partes valent x^{li} et heres Gilberti de Costantin tertiam partem valet c. solidos.

Thomas de Haweye j feodum in Sancto Donato et valet x^{li}. In Marcros j feodum quod heres Ricardi le Butiler tenere debet valet x^{li}.

Hawisia de Londino iiij feoda in Uggemor valent xl^{li}

Daniel Siward j feodum in Merthur Maur valet xv^{li}

Adam de Piretone quartam partem in Nova villa valet xv^{li}.

Abbas de Morgan j feodum in Langewy.[1]

Gilbertus Turberville tenet honorem del Coytiif cum pertinenciis per serjanciam venatus valet lx^{li}.

Elias Basset tenet dimidium feodi in Sancto Hyllario et valet x^{li}.

Philippus de Nereberd quartam partem in Lancovian valet lx solidos.

NOVITER FEOFATI.

Fulco de Santford tenet quartam partem in Lecwithithe et valet xv^{li}.

Henricus de Sulye quartam in Pentirech q[ue ante tempus pacis] valet xl^{s}.

Willielmus Scurlag tenet quartam in Lanbary valet xl^{s}.

Gilbertus Turberville tenet decimam partem in Novo Castro valet x^{li}.

Rogerus de Clifford dimidium feodi in Kenefeis valet xxx^{li}.

Willielmus Mayloc dimidium feodi in Capella valet xx^{s}.

Morganus Vochan tenet dimidium cummod in Bagelan per Wales-

[1] The value of this fee seems to have been intentionally left blank, probably because church lands were not intended to be included, for purposes of taxation, in the survey.

cariam et non facit aliquod servicium nisi herriettum videlicet equum et arma cum moriatur.

Duo filii Morgani ab Cadewalthan tenent dimidium cummod in Glinrotheni et non faciunt aliquod servicium nisi ut supra.

Griffid ab Rees tenet ij cummods in Seingeniht, et Morediht ab Griffid tenet j cummod in Machhein ut supra dicti.

Robertus de Sumeri.	Willielmus le Flemmenc.
Johs le Norreis.	Henricus Odin.
Willm. Juel [Ivel].	Willielmus de Barri.
Ivel filius Roberti.	Simon de Bonevile.
[Nomen amissum].	Elias Basset.
Philippus de Nereberd.	Philippus le Soor.

[Endorsed] Comitatus de Glammorgan.

The names of the twelve jurors are written on the ends of the slender labels cut from the deed, and still pendent to it, and which bore the small seals now lost. The writing is evidently of the date of the deed, and may have been written to guide those who sealed. The total of fees appears to be 36¼ and $\frac{1}{16}$th with a value, supposing £30 to be added for the three fees in St. Nicholas, of £518, besides £42 5*s.* for wardships and perquisites. There are two other returns with which to compare these figures, an Escheat of 35 Ed. I. printed in the Inq. P. M. for that year, and an Extent of the reign of Edward III. taken by Hugh le Despenser. The former gives on addition 36 fees ¼ and $\frac{1}{16}$, and the latter a sum of 36½ and $\frac{1}{16}$, to which, however the addition of the items does not correspond. The Escheat roll gives no values, but the later survey gives figures which amount only to £349 10*s.*, and 20 marks, a considerable falling off. This, however, is probably nominal only, and due to the omission of entries, for most of the fees given are set down as producing as much or more than is credited to them in the earlier survey.

The tradition of the county has steadily asserted that Fitzhamon, upon his conquest in 1091, parcelled out the low lands, those between the mountains and the sea, and from the Rhymny to the Nedd, between the twelve principal followers to whom he owed his victory, leaving to the native lords, or to such as, however unwillingly, accepted his rule, the less fertile and less accessible hill country to the north. That this was the general policy pursued is certain enough, as well as that the fees created paid some kind of military service to Cardiff Castle; but that there were precisely twelve tenants-in-chief, and that they were the knights whose names and holdings are usually given, is opposed to positive evidence. The present survey goes some way towards supplying an account of the actual state of things, and hence its peculiar value in the history of Glamorgan.

The knights recorded by tradition are De Londres of Ogmore, De Granville of Neath, De Turberville of Coyty, St. Quintin of Llanblethian, Siward of Talavan, Umfreville of Penmark, Sully of Sully, Berkrolles of East Orchard, Le Sore of St. Fagans and Peterston, Fleming of Wenvoe Lanmaes and Flemingston, St. John of Fonmon, and Stradling of St. Donats.

Of these there is evidence that De Granville founded Neath Abbey with his portion, and he seems to have retired very early to his richer and

more secure fief at Bideford in Devon. St. Quintin is said to have failed in the male line, and to have disappeared during the reign of Henry III. Probably he was of the family which gave name to Frome St. Quintin and other manors in Wilts, but no evidence has been produced of this, or to show that he was, as usually stated, the ancestor of the heir general who intermarried with the Herberts.

This leaves ten of the twelve knights to be accounted for, and of them six are found in the present record, namely, De Londres of Ogmore, De Turberville of Coyty, Umfreville of Penmark, Sully of Sully, Le Sore of St. Fagans, and, in the list of jurors, Fleming.

Of the other four, Daniel Siward, was doubtless of the family of Siward of Talavan, an important barony, then, it is presumed, in the hands of the chief lord by the forfeiture of Richard Siward, and therefore not here set down. The outline of the castle is preserved, and the name of the family exists in the meadow near, still called "Maes Siward."

The Stradlings are always counted among the very earliest settlers. This document, however, shows that St. Donats was then held by Thomas Hawey, not as he held Marcross, for another person, but as his own. Sir Peter Stradling, about the close of the reign of Henry III., married Joan, daughter and heir of Thomas Hawey of Comb-Hawey or Hay, co. Somerset, and is always supposed to have been himself of St. Donats. But that Thomas was not a mere feoffee for his grandson is evident, not only by the distinction taken between his tenure of St. Donats and Marcross, but by a Plea in Michaelmas term, 15—16 Ed. I., by which Earl Gilbert de Clare claimed the marriage of the heir of John or Thomas de Hanweye [Hawey] against the Lady Beauchamp, of Somerset, on the ground that Hawey held lands under him at St. Donats. [Abb. Placit., p. 213.]

St. John, the third name, is that of a family usually regarded as early settlers at Fonmon; but how it comes that neither he nor his fee of Fonmon are here mentioned, it is difficult to say. Mr. Jones, the owner of Fonmon, suggests that probably it was not originally held *in capite* of the Lord of Glamorgan, but formed a part of the Umfravile fee of Penmark, a dependence which would naturally be allowed to be forgotten when the heiress of Umfravile carried Penmark to the St. Johns. If this be so, as it probably is, it is odd that the St. Johns, not being tenants in chief, should appear among the twelve knights.

Berkrolles of East Orchard, the fourth name, does not appear in this survey. That William de Bercherola was a landowner on the Ebbw in Monmouthshire, appears from Bishop Uchtred's declaration of 1146, and Roger de Berkerol was a Gloucestershire knight in 1165, but the family probably did not settle in Glamorgan till late in the reign of Edward I. Before that time East Orchard was one of the Nerber fees. In the 8th year of King John, Peter de Berkrolles is mentioned in some local pleadings as the purchaser of half a virgate of land at Watton, Herts. [Arch. Camb. for 1869, p. 69; Abb. Placit, p. 56.] Thus, then, on the whole, the evidence of the newly discovered record goes to support the popular tradition, only as regards six of the twelve knights, who may, therefore, have come in early.

There remains the further question, whether they were the only or even the most important of the tenants in chief. De Granville certainly was a very large holder, and of the rest De Londres, Sully, and Umfra-

ville held four fees each, the largest recorded holding. The Honour of Coyty also, held by Turberville, was equally considerable, and Talavan was an important barony; but Le Soer held only one fee. Of the landed estate of Fleming before 1307, nothing is known.

On the other hand, Nerberd held four, and Corbet three fees, and yet they are not among the twelve. Cogan also held two, and many others Nor was it the possession of a castle that gave the rank, for Someri certainly held Dinas Powis at a very early period, as did Norreis Penllyne, Walsh Llandough, Barry Barry Castle, Bonvile Bonvileston, Winchester or De Winton Llanquian, Butler (not Pincerna) Dunraven, and Nerberd Castleton Castle, of all of which buildings parts, more or less considerable, remain.

Several other tenants, not among the twelve, may also be presumed to have come in very early, since they gave their names to their lands, and even to whole parishes, which looks as though they were original allottees. Thus Constantineston or Coston was so called from Constantine; Bonvileston or Bolston, by the Welsh Tre Simon or Simon's place, from Sir Simon de Bonvile; Odyn's fee in Penmark from Odyn; Gileston or Joelston from Joel; Cogan from Cogan; Scurla Castle, a manor in Llanharry, from Scurlage, who also gave name to a manor in Gower; and Sigginston or Tre Siggin, from a family of whom Hugh Sygin was a Llantwit juror about this time. Mayloc was no doubt Welsh, and possibly gave name to the hill still known as Garth Maylog. The family of Someri had the manor and castle of Dinas Powis very early, for Roger de S. of Dudley Castle had it on his death, 1 Ed. I. It seems to have fallen into wardship, as Matilda, widow of Earl Richard de Clare, granted, 4 Ed. I., the custody of it and of Roger the heir, then 18 years of age, during his minority, to Alina Countess of Norfolk, daughter of Philip Basset of Wycombe.

The survey further supports the statement of the disposition of the hill country among the greater Welsh lords, of whom Morgan Vachan, head of the Jestyn branch of Avan, had Baglan, that is to say, the lands from Aberavan to the Nedd, most of which came afterwards to the Houses of Margam and Neath. The sons of Morgan ap Cadwallan, also from Jestyn, had half a commote, or Welsh hundred, in Glyn Rhondda. They were then in possession. It appears from the Annals of Margam that Morgan their father was cruelly, and probably fatally tortured by his kinsman Howell ap Meredith in 1228. Griffith ap Rhys, one of the Van family, had the large tract of Senghenydd above and below the Caiach river, being two commotes. The commote held by Mordiht ap Greffid [Meredith ap Griffith] seems to have been mainly in Gwent, or beyond the Rhymny, in a quarter where the two counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan are still intermixed, parts of parishes belonging to one running into the other. Meredith was lord of Hirvayn commote in Caermarthen as well as of the northern part of the modern Hundred of Wentlloog in Monmouthshire; he descended paternally from the celebrated Rees ap Griffith, and maternally from Howel of Cuerleon, and through his mother was heir to Howell's son. He died 1270. See Brut, p. 357, and Cal. Geneal. p. 272.

Some other names occur in the survey concerning which a word or two may be said. Walter de Gloucester was Escheator to the Crown on either side of the Trent at various times in the reign of Edward I., and

lived into that of Edward II. Ivel Fitz Robert does not occur elsewhere as connected with Glamorgan, neither do Pireton nor Clifford. The family of De Cardiff, of Walton Cardiff in Gloucestershire, held Newton Nottage by grant from William Earl of Gloucester, one of whose charters is witnessed by Robert de Cardiff, whose heiress married Sanford, who also had a quarter of a fee in Leckwith. Cardiff of Lanirid or Llantrythid was a kinsman, whose daughter seems to have carried that manor to Bassett. Earl Richard de Clare, before 1257, granted the manor of Leckwith, being a quarter of a knight's fee, to Nicholas de Sanford, who gave it to his brother Laurence, who gave it to Philip Basset. How it came back to the Sanford family, so as to belong to Fulk Sanford, is unknown. He had however been newly enfeoffed. Butler or De Pincerna was a very early settler, and held Kelligarn under Le Sore; a match with the heiress of Sir Ph. de Marcross gave him that fee. Chapel, in which William Mayloc held half a fee, seems to be the same with Littlebone and Llystalybont, a manor near Cardiff held by him in the Spenser survey. There was a Galfrid de Constantine, who had possessions in Bedfordshire and Ireland in the reign of Henry III., possibly of this family, since migrations to that country from Glamorgan were common. The Cogans seem to have gone thither soon after the date of the survey.

G. T. C.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute.

November 4, 1870.

Major-General Lefroy, R.A., C.B. and V.P., in the Chair.

After a few introductory remarks appropriate to the commencement of the new session, the Chairman referred to the pleasant gathering which had taken place on the occasion of the annual meeting at Leicester, and to the excellent prospects of the meeting at Cardiff. He then adverted to a very remarkable discovery which it had been his good fortune to make in Ireland within the last few days,—that of a Runic inscription on the reverse of a small ornamental object of bronze, part of a sword belt. It had been found in a tumulus at Greenmount, in the County of Louth. He promised a full account of this very curious and interesting object at an early date.[1]

Mr. S. J. Nicholl gave an account of the discovery of a Roman villa and Mosaic pavement, representing Theseus in the Cretan labyrinth, lately found at Oldcotes near Worksop, Nottinghamshire. Small portions of the pavement, specimens of the tesseræ, mortar, tiles, &c., were exhibited in illustration of the discovery. Mr. Nicholl remarked:—"The Roman pavement and vestiges of a villa which I wish to bring before the notice of the Institute, were discovered at Oldcotes, Nottinghamshire, on the estate of E. Chaloner, Esq., in May, 1870, during the progress of the works for St. Helen's Church, then being erected from my design. The field in which the church was built was known as the Manor Field, and was supposed to have been the site of a mediæval manor house. The distance is not great from Roche Abbey, Blythe, Worksop, Carlton, and Tickhill, well known for their abbeys and churches, but there were no traditions of Roman occupation, or reason to expect the discovery made. The principal room excavated was 20 feet in length from north to south, by 17 feet in width. Close to the south end, on the west side, was the entrance, marked by a step down and a threshold; at this end appears to have been the gangway across the room, the pattern of the floor being a chequer of 12 in. squares, red and grey alternately; the tesseræ are of local grey limestone and a red grit (being $\frac{1}{12}$ of an inch square in this portion of the design), 7 feet in width; to this succeeds a band 14 in. wide, of smaller tesseræ, arranged in a very graceful design of scrolls and squares. The centre portion of this band is imperfect, and was not a mere repetition of the design; perhaps a column may have stood here, forming part of the construction of the roof.

[1] This memoir has been given in vol. xxvii. p. 284.

The remainder of the design consists of a labyrinth almost identical with that discovered at Caerleon, and described by Mr. Octavius Morgan, in the "Publications of the Caerleon Antiquarian Association." The labyrinth, 9 feet 6 in. square, had on two sides a margin 7 in. wide, of very white limestone tesseræ (from the Roche Abbey quarry)—11 tesseræ to the 7 in. —and the whole is surrounded by a border of triangles, alternately red and grey, leaving a broad margin of coarser grey to fill out to the side of the room. The centre of the labyrinth, 2 ft. 7 in. square, was unfortunately much injured, but the lower portion of a human figure remained in an attitude of attack; one arm had been extended, with a short broad sword pointed downwards, the lower part of the blade remaining, and over the shoulder the outline of an oval shield was evident. The tesseræ were very small, of the same materials as the rest of the work, with the addition of some of a greenish tint; the watershed was towards this centre, which may account for its being so much more damaged than the rest of the work. At the south end, towards the west, there is a projection with rounded corners, perhaps an altar; this and the sides of the room had been finished by a plaster moulding, a quarter round, to form a plinth, coloured red. The whole of this pavement rested on a solid bed of concrete. Parallel with this room we discovered another paved room, the tesseræ being all grey, 1 × 1¼ in. and 2 ft. 6 in. lower than the floor of the labyrinth; a portion of this appeared to have been covered over with a coarse concrete, and a passage next to the wall of the labyrinth room formed at the same level; the soil here showed abundant traces of charred wood, and fragments of coloured plaster, roofing tiles, &c. Other walls were discovered, and partly traced, but probably much more remains yet to be excavated. One singular discovery was that of a rough trough formed of slabs of stone filled with a hardened mass of lime. This may have been lime set aside for use in the fresco paintings, either as a pigment or plastered ground. A large quantity of fragments of decorative paintings on plaster were discovered in various places, including portions of a human figure. The plastered ground of a large part of these paintings was laid on concrete of irregular thickness attached to tiles; these tiles resembled the roofing tiles in being turned up at the sides, but the projecting part or flange had been cut away, whilst the clay was wet, so that the tile rested on four points only, an evident arrangement to prevent the absorption of moisture, and suggesting the probability of a painted floor,—an idea which has also the negative evidence of a third room being discovered without any existing pavement; we found also a plaster plinth moulding, which has apparently had two painted plaster continuations. The roof tiles were flanged, and had a very ingenious section, with water grooves and a covering tile. The pavement soon began to suffer from exposure and the depredations of visitors, and the whole area of the excavations has been covered up, and, it is hoped, preserved for future exploration."

Dr. Rock made some remarks upon the *secco* painting being of the time of Hadrian, upon the *atrium* being probably an *impluvium*, and upon the symbolism of the labyrinth.

The Chairman expressed the hope that local influence might ensure the preservation of the remains, and referred to the discovery of pavements at Silchester.

The Secretary read notes, by Mr. Albert Way, upon the Collection

of Ancient Implements of Stone lately found in the Circular Dwellings on Holyhead Mountain, and exhibited by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P. These notes upon this further discovery on this interesting site will be given in a future number of the Journal.

Dr. Thurnam sent a few notes on an "incense-cup" found in a barrow at Devizes, Wiltshire. He suggested that the two holes with which one side of the cup is pierced might have been intended for the insertion of pegs in a wooden implement with a long handle (similar to that sent by him), by which vessels of this description, filled with odoriferous combustibles, might have been lifted on to the pile at the right moment, and deposited on the corpse, the cremation of which had begun.

Dr. Rock thought the term "incense-cups" a misnomer. Such vessels more probably contained the remains of children who died before teething, and whose bodies were not burnt; but their bones were collected when decayed, and placed therein.

Mr. C. S. Greaves adverted to the discoveries of somewhat similar cups in the Troad, in burials without cremation.

The Secretary read "Remarks on the origin of the Megalithic Structures of Carnac in Brittany," by Mr. James Yates, M.A., F.R.S., which had been called forth by the presentation of Dr. Blair's and Sir F. Ronalds' Survey of those structures by Mr. Yates to the Library of the Institute.

"I visited the Megalithic Structures of Carnac on the 24th of July, 1835. My friend, Dr. Alexander Blair, accompanied by Mr. (now Sir Francis) Ronalds, had spent five weeks in the examination of them during the preceding summer. Besides numerous French antiquaries they had been visited in 1825 by Mr. Alexander Logan, who calls them "a fane of Druidical worship" and supposes them to represent the winding form of a serpent. His account of them is published in the Archæologia, vol. xxii. The inquiry into their form and origin was soon afterwards prosecuted with extraordinary zeal and diligence by the Rev. John Bathurst Deane, one of the original members of the Archæological Institute, whose "Observations on Dracontia" are published in the Archæologia, vol. xxv. Although this learned writer appears to me to have been misled by his attachment to a preconceived theory, he rendered a great service to Archæology, and especially to the study of these structures, by taking with him to Brittany a competent surveyor, Mr. Vicars, who executed the first accurate plans of these structures. Mr. Deane has given minute accounts of them as they really exist, and, he has, moreover, generously accommodated Dr. Blair and Sir Francis Ronalds with the use of the survey, which he had obtained. Hence the work, published by Blair and Ronalds, contains the only full and correct representation of these structures. Knowing that only fifty copies had been printed, I was desirous of securing a copy for the Library of the Institute, and on mentioning this to Dr. Blair, he sent me his only remaining copy for the purpose. I never could be satisfied with the fanciful explanations of the design and origin of these structures, which had hitherto been received, and I have been desirous after long consideration to offer a theory, which is founded on simple and indisputable facts, and which, as it appears to me, fully explains every existing appearance. The tract of country, in which these structures are found, is very similar, in its geological features, to the opposite district of Cornwall. It consists of granite in various stages of decomposition. For

the greatest part it is reduced to the state of gravel and sand, which has been cultivated to some extent so as to feed cattle, and to yield a moderate harvest. Blocks of granite of various sizes are strewn over the surface of the ground, and there can be no doubt that it must have been a great object with the people to rid themselves of this incumbrance. But how was this to be done? In one way only, viz., by turning them so as to make them stand on end instead of lying on their sides. For this purpose the people would dig a hole about two feet deep, and erect the stone in the hole. By this method the surface capable of cultivation would be increased four or five-fold. The arrangement of the stones in groups, lines, or avenues, so far as there is any arrangement, may be in part accounted for from that love of order, which seems to be a part of human nature. But it would be required for various purposes of utility. It would form inclosures for sheep and cattle. It would mark the boundaries between the properties of different parties. These structures cannot properly be called *monuments*; for they record nothing. They have been called *pre-historic*; but I should prefer calling them, as Mr. Fergusson does, *non-historic*, for all history is silent concerning them. As to the period of their erection, we can only form conjectures; but it is evident, that it would depend on the increase of population, and it is probable, that it may have followed some great deliverance from danger. When, for example, the Veneti had succeeded in expelling the Roman invasion under Julius Cæsar, the feeling of patriotism and the sense of deliverance awakened within them might have instigated them to united action, although they had no parliament, and preserved no written records.

The theory of those who call any of these structures a Dracontium, or Serpent-temple, assumes, that the form of a serpent is shown in their plan. This assumption is manifestly inconsistent with the fact. The arrangement of the stones in Mr. Vicars's survey, if it can be called an arrangement at all, is not like a serpent; and, when altered by Mr. Deane to suit the theory, the form of a waving line, which is adopted, is little better suited to the hypothesis. It might be argued, that we know little or nothing on the subject of the worship of serpents in that country; but enough has been said to show the real merit of a work,[2] which may be prized for its learning and eloquence, but which cannot be followed as a guide in archæology."

Mr. Fergusson expressed his thanks to Mr. Yates for the presentation of so valuable a contribution to the Library of the Institute. He could not however coincide in the views which had been expressed by Mr. Yates as to the origin of those structures, as there certainly was an arrangement of the stones, which were not accidentally placed, and were certainly roughly shaped. Perhaps they were marks of battlefields, or trophies.

Mr. Burtt thought that the Stones of Carnac were a monument of some kind, however obscure. If it had been intended simply to clear the ground for cultivation by so arranging them, that purpose would have been better attained by piling them in heaps.

[2] The Worship of the Serpent traced throughout the World, &c., by the Rev. John Bathurst Deane. London, 1833. This is an enlargement of the author's paper in the Archæologia, vol. xxv. already referred to.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., F.S.A.—Several ancient relics recently obtained in researches on his estates in Holyhead Island. These curious objects, chiefly of stone, will be described and figured hereafter in this volume. They may be enumerated as follows:—A ponderous block, measuring about 10 in. by 9 in., the upper surface concave, possibly intended for crushing some substance by means of a muller or roller, or for some operation of sharpening implements and the like.—A sharpening-stone or polisher, about 5½ in. in length, having on each of its sides a deeply cut groove, that may have been worked in sharpening implements: it had also served as a hand-hammer.—A moiety of an axe-head of quartz, that had been perforated for hafting: these objects are comparatively rare in England and Wales, and no example had occurred previously in Mr. Stanley's excavations.—A flat heart-shaped stone pebble that had been selected as suited for some domestic or mechanical uses; also two other rolled pebbles, of ovoid form, bearing traces of percussion.—A rudely shaped disc, about 5 in. in diameter, possibly intended for use in some game, like quoits, or as an object of domestic use, like a plate.—A flat perforated stone, of oval shape, measuring nearly 3 in. in the widest diameter: such relics may have served as hand-hammers, being too large to be regarded as whorls, or as button-stones for fastening the dress.—The moiety of a rudely fashioned saucer, that in its perfect state measured about 5 in. in diameter: similar appliances have occurred in "Picts' Houses," in the Hebrides.—A singular, very rough casting in yellow metal, bearing some resemblance to the upper part of a looped celt; it is, however, in so damaged a condition that it is difficult to form any probable conjecture as to its intention. It was found at Ty Mawr, not far from the spot where a large deposit of bronze celts, spears, and other relics was found in 1832, as related by Mr. Stanley in this Journal, vol. xxiv. p. 253.

By Mr. W. W. E. Wynne.—A ponderous ovoid stone, found near Penlarth, Merionethshire. It measures about 5¼ in. by 4½ in., and is symmetrical in form, the surface also being uniformly smooth, the result apparently of art, and not caused by rolling amongst other stones in a river-bed, or the like.



Portion of an urn found in Wilts, showing peculiar ornament.

By Dr. Thurnam, M.D., F.S.A.—A cast of part of the rim of a very large cinerary urn, found in a barrow at Winterslow, Wilts. This urn is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. It measures 18 in. in height; the upper portion, or rim, which is elaborately wrought with ornament of very unusual character, resembling the spikes of some sort of grass, measures 6 in. in depth. Just below the rim there is, on each side, a small handle or ear. It is difficult to explain how the ornament has been produced (see woodcut, a quarter of the original dimensions). An account of this remarkable urn will be given by Dr. Thurnam in a forthcoming memoir in the Archæologia.—An "incense-cup," found in a barrow near Devizes. It

measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the top, 2 in. at the bottom, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height; it is pierced with two small holes on one side, and is ornamented over the whole of the surface, and also within the lip, with impressed and corded lines, disposed horizontally, diagonally, and in zigzags. Dr. Thurnam sent for inspection a model in wood of an implement devised by him, being formed with two small pegs that might, as conjectured, be inserted in the two lateral perforations. It was suggested that by means of such a contrivance, with a handle of convenient length, vessels of this peculiar description, filled with odoriferous combustibles, may possibly have been lifted on to the funeral pile at the moment most suitable for such a rite, in the progress of the combustion, and deposited upon the corpse of which the cremation had commenced. This curious little cup will be figured in Dr. Thurnam's memoir, of which mention has been made.

By Mr. S. J. Nicholl.—Numerous specimens of tesserae, tiles, fragments of bright decorative painting on plaster, flanged roofing-tiles, mortar, and other remains found in the excavation of a Roman villa and mosaic floor at Oldcotes, near Worksop, Nottinghamshire. Also diagrams, a ground plan of the building, and drawings illustrating this discovery, of which a notice will be found *ante*. In one fragment of a flanged roofing-tile the construction is ingeniously devised, with small channels along the flanges, serving to collect any water that might be carried by the wind under the covering-tile that closed over the junctures of the rows of tiles. (See woodcut, showing the section of the tiles as restored from imperfect fragments.)



By Mr. Henry S. Harland.—Portions of wall-decoration, tiles for roofing, and various relics of Roman construction obtained in researches at the site above mentioned, at Oldcotes. The spot is situated on the east side of the road from Worksop to Doncaster, the *Danum* of the Itinerary, and about two miles north-west of Blythe. A line of ancient way from Lincoln to Pontefract, crossing the Trent at Littleborough (*Segelocum?*), passed at a short distance to the north of Oldcotes. (See the Map of Roman Britain given in the Monumenta Historica.)

By Mr. Albert Way.—Photograph of the remarkable sculptured cross in the churchyard at Eyam, Derbyshire. It is decorated very elaborately with interlaced riband-work, and a trailing stem of the vine, charged with grapes. On the head of the cross there are angels holding crosses, and three of them blowing trumpets. On the west side are seen the Virgin with the Infant Saviour, and a seated figure holding a large horn, possibly the donor of this very curious monument, which may be ascribed to the eleventh century (?) It has been well figured, from drawings by Charles Stothard, in Lysons' Derbyshire, p. ccxxxv. In the character of design and sculpture, this cross bears much resemblance to the coeval monument more generally known, but less perfectly preserved, in the churchyard at Bakewell. This last is figured in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 282.

By Dr. Ferdinand Keller, Hon. F.S.A., President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich.—Two photographs of the Castle of Mammertshofen, in the canton of Thurgau, Switzerland. This remarkable building is a square tower of three floors, constructed of very large blocks of

stone, undressed, and of very massive dimensions. The light is admitted by small eyelets. A full description of this, and of two other megalithic towers in Switzerland, has subsequently been given by Prof. Dr. G. Meyer, von Knonau, in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich.[1]

By the Rev. J. Greville Chester.—A thurible from the ancient Coptic church of Mar Taddeo, in Old Cairo.

By Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart.—A photograph of a dragon's head carved in Portland stone, being part of the achievement of the arms of the city of London, formerly at Aldersgate, demolished in 1760. This ancient relic from the metropolis is now preserved at the residence of Sir Walter, Wallington Park, Northumberland. See Hodgson's Hist. North., Part II., vol. i., p. 305.

By Mr. Henry Laing, of Edinburgh.—A photograph emblazoned, displaying the arms of the Lords Lyon, in Scotland, nineteen in number, from the fifteenth century to 1870. Mr. Laing's valuable descriptive catalogues of Scottish seals (2 vols. 4to, with numerous illustrations) are well known to all who take interest in the history of sphragistic art in Great Britain. It may be acceptable to collectors of seals to be reminded that impressions of all the examples there enumerated, 2608 in number, may be obtained on application to Mr. Laing, at 1, Elder Street, Edinburgh, by whom also glass matrices of any of these seals are supplied.

Matrices and Impressions of Seals. By Mr. James E. Nightingale.—A jet seal, of pointed oval form, found in the Rectory Garden at Langton Matravers, near Swanage, Dorset. It is now in the possession of the Rev. E. F. Trotman, Rector of Langton. This seal may be ascribed to the later part of the thirteenth century; the device is the stem of a tree, issuing from a well, and terminating at top in a fleur-de-lys. The lower part of the branch, or tree, is traversed by a fish; on the dexter side there is a bird, perched on the foliage; on the sinister side, a lion. The legend is as follows:— + W . SIGNVM . FONS . PISCIS . AVIS . LEO . LIGNVM. The seal, doubtless, belonged to some person, the initial of whose name was a W; for instance, Walter, William, or the like; probably an ecclesiastic, and perhaps rector of the parish. The curious assemblage of symbols may be regarded as allusive to our Lord. This singular relic will be figured and more fully noticed hereafter.

[1] Mittheilungen d. Antiqu. Gesellschaft in Zürich; Band xvii. 1871, with two plates, and ground plans, a section, &c.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA. By Robert Burn, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 4to. Cambridge, 1871.

Mr. Burn's book is a very valuable one of its kind, probably the best of its class, and that class is a numerous one. There are many books of the same class—that is a book made out of other books, relating to the history and topography of Ancient Rome. Mr. Burn has great advantages; no one can doubt his scholarship, his book teems with learning and overflows with references to the passages in the classical authors relating to Rome. He is also well acquainted with the modern languages, and has made good use of the numerous modern French, Italian, and German books on the subject that have issued from the press during the last fifty years. He has chiefly relied on Canina, who spent thirty years and a large fortune on his great work, and produced unquestionably the best work of his time on the subject. Mr. Burn has also been to Rome himself more than once to verify what he had previously made out by reading. He also shows that he is a good geologist, and brings that knowledge practically to bear; and he has in fact produced a valuable book. But there is a great drawback from the value of Mr. Burn's book, the author is not an archæologist, has not been in the habit of attending Professor Willis's admirable lectures on Archæology, or of following him in his discourses to the Archæological Institute, in which he shows so well how to apply the modern science of archæology in practice. The consequences of Mr. Burn having neglected this one most important study for his purpose are serious. His book, with all its learning and real historical value, is full of most extraordinary mistakes. He has forgotten that since Canina, and Nibby, and Fea, and Niebuhr, and Bunsen have written, great discoveries have been made in Rome, and that the last ten years have been years of very rapid progress in the modern science of Archæology, and its application to Rome. Mr. Burn ignores the important proceedings of the British Archæological Society of Rome, and by so doing he has sadly marred his otherwise valuable work. The opening passage of his book is a case in point. He says, "In the Aventine Hill, under the Monastery of S. Saba, there is a vast subterranean quarry, from which carts may often be seen at the present day carrying blocks of a reddish-brown stone to the various quarters of Rome, wherever new buildings happen to be in the course of erection. The stone obtained from this quarry is the harder kind of tufa, of which a great part of the hills of Rome consist. It naturally became the building-stone used by the first founders of Rome, and is found in all the most ancient fragments of masonry which still remain. In many places, as on the cliffs of the Alban Lake, and the sides of the many hillocks up in the

Campagna, this stone may be seen, presenting, when partially decayed, a very considerable likeness to a wall of horizontal layers of stone. When quarried, it naturally breaks into rectangular blocks, and suggests of itself that mode of building which we find actually to exist in the earliest efforts of Roman builders."

In this passage, which is in many respects excellent, it is clearly implied that the large blocks of tufa that were used in the walls of the Kings of Rome (and in their time everywhere in the Primitive Fortifications of that early period) may have been brought out from this particular quarry under S. Sabba in the Aventine. It so happens that this particular quarry has been explored and examined many times by the Roman Society, and hundreds of its members have seen that this quarry has been made out of the tunnel or *specus* of the Aqua Appia, which passed through this part of the Aventine on its way from the Porta Capena to the Porta Trigemina, or rather to the cave of Faunus, near to it, which was used as the final reservoir at the mouth of this earliest aqueduct, on the bank of the Tiber. It must have passed this spot, it could not have gone from one part to the other in any other manner. The *specus* was as usual six feet high, and two feet wide only, just sufficient for a man to stand and cut away one side of it, to make it wide enough for a horse and cart to pass, and this is what has evidently been done. The wells that *descended* into the *specus* remain at regular intervals, with the holes for a man's foot, to enable him to go up and down to clear it out when necessary. Within this quarry part of the *specus* remains perfect, half filled up with the deposit of clay left by the water, and we have often seen a boy sent along it with a light until he was obliged to return for want of air.

It is evident that as this quarry was made out of the tunnel of an aqueduct this could not have been done until after that aqueduct was out of use, consequently not before the Middle Ages, and probably long after that period. Again, the size of the stones brought out of this quarry is very different from those used in the walls of the Kings'; we have seen scores of cart-loads of stones brought out of this quarry, but never saw a block of stone larger than a man's head; it is obtained by blasting, and is the stone commonly used for rubble-walling and for macadam roads. The stones used in the wall of Romulus are four feet long, two feet wide, and two feet thick; those of the later kings are rather smaller; they become gradually smaller as they are later in date (as a general rule, though not an invariable one). Those on the Aventine under S. Prisca, just opposite to this quarry, are not of the same quality, nor of the same size, as the stones that come from it, they are nearly as large as those of the wall of Romulus. This wall against the cliff of the Aventine is fifty feet high and twelve feet thick, and the quarry that supplied that stone must have been of considerable extent. Part of it probably was obtained from the Aventine, but from another quarry, not now in use, under S. Prisca, in the same large vineyard of the Jesuits, or of Prince Torlonia, in which the wall is situated. But it was only a small part of the stone that came from the Aventine, that part which is of a pinkish hue. It is probable that the greater part of the stone used for the enormous walls of the Kings came from the ancient quarries now called the "caves of Cervaro," on the bank of the river Anio, about six miles from Rome, and was floated down the river on rafts. Part of it was probably dug out of

the hills of Rome, especially in the time of Romulus. In making the great fosses or trenches around the Palatine, and especially the great trench across the middle of that hill, on the southern side of his *Arx* or citadel, a great quantity of tufa must have been cut out.

In Mr. Burn's second paragraph we read—

"The most interesting of such primæval relics is a fragment of wall which skirts the west end of the Palatine Hill, and is assigned by Mr. Braun to the earliest enclosure of that hill the so-called Roma Quadrata of Dionysius. The blocks in this wall are arranged in layers placed alternately parallel to, and across the line of, the wall (headers and stretchers), so as to bind the mass together firmly. No mortar is used, and the joints are fitted so accurately as to show a more considerable knowledge of the art of masonry than we should expect at so early a period. It seems on this account questionable whether the usually received opinion as to the antiquity of this wall can be correct, and the fragments of the wall of Servius Tullius (B.C. 578—535), found on the sides of the Aventine and the Quirinal Hills are perhaps more deserving of attention as undoubtedly ancient works. In these fragments of the Servian wall the art of building appears in a more imperfect state than in that on the Palatine. The vertical joints are not so carefully arranged, and are often allowed to stand immediately one over the other, so as to impair the solidity of the masonry. The stones are placed close against the sides of the hill, and in some places the lowest layers of them are imbedded in the natural rock."

This paragraph contains several mis-statements. Mr. Burn must have been singularly unfortunate in the portion of the wall of Romulus that was shown to him; it must have been one of the pieces that have been rebuilt with the old materials at a later period. In the original parts that have not been disturbed, so far from the "joints being closely fitted together," there is sometimes room enough between the stones for a man to put in his hand and arm; and we have frequently seen a stout walking-stick inserted. The construction is as rude as it well could be. The size of the blocks of tufa has been already mentioned; they are split off the beds with wedges only, and are not cut with any iron tool; the construction is exactly the same as that of the walls of Fiesoli, Volterra, Perugia, and other Etruscan cities of the same early period, where the same building material is found. The construction of a wall is necessarily governed to a great extent by the nature of the stone of which it is built. What is often called Cyclopean masonry is generally caused by the geological character of the stone, which naturally splits into large blocks, very convenient for building the great walls of a fortification. Of the walls of Romulus we have remaining some portions on each of three sides of his *Arx*, which was an oblong fortification, consisting of the northern end of the Palatine Hill. 1. Against the north cliff, near the western corner, a piece of several yards long, in a genuine unaltered state. 2. The foundations of a series of towers at regular intervals, nearly all along from the west end to the east of this northern cliff, opposite to the Capitol, the most important point to be defended against the Sabines. 3. A reservoir for rain water, which appears to be of the same period; this is near the south-west corner, and behind the most perfect part of the wall. There are conduits or tunnels to bring the water into this great reservoir from various parts of the hill. This reservoir has been

recently *restored* by Signor Rosa (who, for a Director of Archæological Investigations, is much too fond of restoration). In this reservoir are several wells of a peculiar form—a hollow cone with the wide mouth downwards. There is a similar reservoir for rain-water under the corner of the *Arx* of Alba Longa (miscalled a prison), in which are also wells of the same peculiar form, and these two places are the only two where this form has been found in that part of Italy. Of the towers nothing more than the foundations remain, and as these have been built upon in the time of the Republic and early Empire, it seems that the fortifications of Romulus in this part had never been completed. 4. We have portions of this wall again, on the cliff near the church of S. Anastasia, at the north-west end of the *Arx* of Romulus, and behind this are the remains of one of the earliest temples in Rome, with a grand flight of steps leading up to it from the west, all of the character of the time of Romulus. 5. On both sides of the great trench, or fosse, before mentioned, across the hill from east to west on the south side of the *Arx*, parts of the tufa walls have been brought to light by the recent excavations of Signor Rosa, who calls this great piece of ancient military engineering, a *natural Inter-montium!*

We may, however, now turn to the great wall of Servius Tullius, which, to the eyes of Mr. Burn, appears more perfect than that of Romulus. By the way, the wall of Servius Tullius is not on the Quirinal nor on the Aventine. The great *agger*, faced by his wall was carried for a mile along the eastern side of Rome, on the high ground, and does not properly belong to any of the hills, or rather promontories, on that side. Each of the seven hills was originally a separate fortress; each formed one of the seven *arces* of Virgil, and remains of the tufa wall against the cliffs have now been found on each of the seven hills. Servius Tullius connected these seven distinct fortresses into one city, by making his great *agger* on the east side, where there could be no cliffs to scarp and support by walls, and by building short *aggeres* across the valleys from one cliff to the other, with a gate in each of these short connecting links. That part of the wall of Servius Tullius, respecting which there can be no doubt, his great eastern *agger*, is built in a very superior manner to the walls of the time of Romulus, the stones *are* well cut and closely fitted together, and are bound together by *iron clamps*, showing a considerable advance in civilization, as might be expected in two hundred years. A portion of this wall was pulled to pieces in 1870, to make room for an enlargement of the railway station. The work of destruction was carefully watched by many persons, and several of the iron clamps that were taken out of the stones in the middle of the wall were purchased at once on the spot by English visitors; amongst others by Mr. Parker, of Oxford, who carried some of them to the Ashmolean Museum, where they may now be seen. Others remain in Rome. Mr. Burn's plan of the *agger* of Servius Tullius (which he calls the Servian wall) is very incorrect or rather incomplete; he evidently does not understand ancient earthworks, and yet the original fortifications of Rome must have been mainly earthworks, as those of all other cities of the same period were. The walls are merely facings of the earthworks. He does not see that this *agger*, or bank, turns at a sharp angle at each end, to connect it with the cliffs of the Quirinal at the north and the Esquiline at the south, and at the angle at each end

is a great earthen mound, or round tower, to protect the approach to a gate. Mr. Burn's plans are almost entirely copied from Canina; and he takes no notice of the many discoveries made in the numerous excavations of the last five years. In accordance with the views of the sceptical school, to which he evidently belongs, Mr. Burn doubts about many things that appear to us natural and obviously true. He does not believe that the foundations of a wooden bridge on the Tiber, under the Aventine, are those of the Sublician bridge, nor that the Porta Trigemina was also in this narrow strip of ground under the Aventine, close to the foot of this bridge; yet this is the obvious place where any military engineer would have put those structures, and a long-established tradition should not be lightly set aside when the existing remains appear to bear it out, as in this case. The remains of the short *agger* are clearly visible at the south end of the *Salaria*, or salt wharf, which is, and always was, just within the Porta Trigemina. But Mr. Burn puts his Porta Trigemina in the Forum Boarium, a quarter of a mile to the north of the real site. His plan of the Palatine is only a reproduction of Signor Rosa's plan, and omits altogether the important discoveries made by the excavations of the Pontifical Government, under Visconti, in 1869 and 1870, in the southern part of the hill, which he leaves nearly blank.

The illustrations of Mr. Burn's book are admirable in their way; they are a series of the excellent woodcuts of the Jewitt family taken from photographs, which have been used as original sketches to make drawings from, and not merely reproduced literally. The exact and minute accuracy of the photograph is thereby lost, and in some cases, such as the construction of walls, this is a serious loss; no drawing ever shows the mode of construction like a photograph, and for historical purposes this is often very important. Many of these woodcuts are evidently taken from Mr. Parker's series, with which most of the recent visitors to Rome are familiar. In some instances Mr. Burn himself does not seem to understand the drawings or their object, and it would appear that someone else had supplied these illustrations, which may or may not fit the text. The bridges of the aqueduct, of which one is given (p. 11) near Tivoli, are not merely "picturesque objects," but are important for historical purposes also. The great wall against the cliff of the Aventine (p. 50) is not one of "the Servian walls," as Mr. Burn calls it. The Porta Salara (p. 60) is one of "the things that have been;" it is now entirely destroyed, and should not appear as one of the existing gates of Rome. The arch of Honorius, within the Porta di S. Lorenzo (p. 63), has also been destroyed. In the drawing of the Porta S. Giovanni (p. 66), the modern embrasure for cannon, erected by the Pontifical soldiers to defend themselves against the Garibaldians, forms so conspicuous a part of the picture that it should have been explained. This view also shows the Porta Asinaria, and it is curious to see Mr. Burn stating on the opposite page that "this old gate is unfortunately hidden by some buildings in front of it." As it has always formed part of the wall of Aurelian, it never could have had "buildings in front of it." The view is correct as it was seen two years ago, the embrasures have now been removed, and the aspect is thereby entirely altered. The blocks of marble in the Marmorata (shewn in p. 208) are now entirely hidden again by the mud left in the late flood.

Most of the subjects in Mr. Burn's plates are what are usually called

the "hack subjects" in Rome, familiar to all those who know Rome and the usual photographs of it. The few that are novel are taken from Mr. Parker's series. There are many points on which we should not agree with Mr. Burn's conclusions, as we believe that the more the existing remains are brought to light, the more fully they are found to support the general truth of the traditional history of Rome as recorded by Livy, followed by Dionysius.

The excavations of 1871 have not yet been recorded, and are probably the most important that have ever been made in the same space of time.

We proceed now to notice some of the points on which Mr. Burn has expressed an opinion differing from those who have followed the researches of the Archæological Society in Rome.

Mr. Burn, p. 69, n. 1.—The Porta Ardeatina. — Nibby Mura di Roma, p. 201 ; Festus, p. 282. Nibby thinks that this gate was built in the tenth century, but Mr. I. H. Parker refers it to the time of Trajan. (Parker's Lecture before the Society of Archæology at Rome, p. 18.)

From this note it appears that Mr. Burn cannot distinguish between the construction of a wall and gateway of the first century and one of the tenth. This appears to us very extraordinary, for they are most essentially different. The brickwork of the time of Nero, and from that to the time of Trajan, is the finest brickwork in the world, that of the tenth century is about the worst. The construction of this gateway, shown in one of Mr. Parker's photographs, is unquestionably of the first century of the Christian era, as we have stated, and such was also the opinion of Nibby, the mistake is that of his engraver only, who by some accident or some piece of ignorance has put in an 0 where Nibby never wrote one, and has made 1 into 10. The text of Nibby says, plainly enough, that the gateway is of the first century, and this fact is a very important one, as it proves that the outer boundary of Rome was then in the same line as the wall of Aurelian in the third, so that if there was not a *murus* in the technical sense, there was an outer line of defence of some kind to which this gate belonged ; and this is contrary to the theory of the modern antiquaries, who usually make the walls of Servius Tullius the boundary of THE CITY proper, the only boundary of Rome until the time of Aurelian.

Mr. Burn, p. 129, n. (1).—"These walls" (called by Canina, followed by Mr. Burn, the Forum of Julius Cæsar) "have been lately assigned by Mr. Parker to the dungeons of the Carcer Mamertinus, and to the wall of Servius Tullius. But there is not sufficient proof of this to justify an abandonment of the usual opinion about them."

These arches of travertine of the time of Tiberius no doubt belong to that part of the great prison that was rebuilt in his time, as recorded upon an inscription at the entrance to the vestibule under the Church of the Crucifixion, usually called the "Prison of S. Peter." But these arches of travertine rest upon tufa walls of much earlier character, of the time of Servius Tullius. These are the walls of a series of large subterranean chambers, now cellars under houses, which can hardly be anything else than that part of the great prison which was called the Lautumiæ, as described by Mr. Burn himself. The subterranean passage from the vestibule had been excavated to the length of thirty yards, and the workmen had come to within six yards of the cellars at the end of April, and this appears to us conclusive.

Mr. Burn, p. 156, n. (1).—"The grotto of the Lupercal has lately, *it is supposed*, been discovered near the Church of S. Anastasia. It is, however, possible that the reservoir of an aqueduct may have been mistaken for it. See the *Athenæum* newspaper, No. 2,068, June 15, 1867."

This conjecture of Mr. Burn is of no value whatever; the grotto or cave called the Lupercal is at too great a depth for any of the aqueducts. The water gushes out from the rock under the north-west corner of the Palatine into the grotto exactly as described by ancient authors. The situation of it also, just on the edge of the Circus Maximus, agrees perfectly with the spot where the Lupercal must have been.

At p. 199 Mr. Burn says:—"It is to be observed that Panoinius speaks of the plan as found near the church,—Garrucci in the church, and Vacca behind the church on a wall. Jordan thinks that the plan was lying about near the place where the church was to be built, in fragments, the most considerable of which were used to cover part of the walls when the church was built." And he continues (p. 200):—"Two fragments of the Pianta Capitolina were discovered in 1867, during an excavation undertaken by the monks of SS. Cosma e Damiano. They represent the ground plan of the Porticus Liviæ, an oblong space surrounded by double colonnades. Mr. J. H. Parker (Archæologia of the London Society of Antiquaries, vol. xlii. pt. i. p. 11) seeks to identify this ground plan with the great platform between the Velia and Coliseum, commonly supposed to be the platform of the Temple of Venus and Rome. It is, however, quite a sufficient refutation of his view to point out that the remains of the central building now existing on the platform differ entirely from the plan represented on the new fragments. It is stated that the new fragments were discovered in a pit dug in a court-yard behind the church, and monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano, at the foot of a long, lofty wall of brick, on which numerous small bronze hooks, such as were used for securing a facing of marble slabs, were found. These hooks do not necessarily indicate, as Mr. Parker thinks, that the marble plan of Rome was attached to the wall by means of them, for such hooks or rivets were frequently used to attach ordinary marble facing to brick walls."

Mr. Burn overlooks some material facts in this case. The marble plan of Rome was made in the third century, in the time of the Emperor Severus, as is stated in an inscription to that effect upon one of the marble plates.[1] "The central building on the platform" was built or rebuilt thirty years afterwards, in the time of Maxentius, as was proved by his brick stamps found in the walls by Nibby; this building, therefore, could not be represented on the marble plan. Mr. Burn in his index refers to the Porticus Liviæ as identical with the Porticus Octaviæ. They are quite distinct: we have plans of both of them, with their names engraved on two of the fragments of the marble plan.

All the fragments of the marble plan have been found in the same place, at the foot of a lofty wall faced with brick of the time of Severus, in which are rows of metal hooks snapped off; these were evidently for the purpose of fixing a marble facing to the wall, and this plan is engraved on such a marble facing. It has never been trodden upon, the lines are quite fresh, but the slabs are broken into fragments. In front of this

[1] See Mai Spicilegium Rom., vol. vii. p. 654.

wall lies a great mass of one corner of the Basilica of Constantine, which had fallen from the top in an earthquake, and has the upper part of a corkscrew staircase in it, now lying upside down on the pavement, but buried again. It appears quite probable that such a mass of stone as this would fall through the roof of the Portico on to the pavement, and that the jar would cause the marble slabs to vibrate violently, break the hooks that held them up, and so cause them to fall and break to pieces in falling on the pavement. Those authors who were living at the time[1] when the other fragments were found, in the sixteenth century, describe this as the situation where these were also found.

"It is well known (Mr. Burn, p. 224) to all Roman archæologists of any experience that the 'reticulated work' is not found after the time of Hadrian, or about A.D. 120. It is, therefore, probable that these quays were made or rebuilt at that time, or towards the end of the first century of the Christian era. It is probable, however, that they continued in use for two or three centuries, and that the blocks, neglected or left there so long in oblivion, were placed there in the third century, when such enormous quantities of marble were imported into Rome that they could not at once find employment for it. Further excavations, made after Mr. Parker wrote, showed that these great quays extended the whole length of the Port of Rome, or for about half a mile, and that the quay now in use for the same purpose, and always called 'The Marmorata,' was the upper part of the same series of quays. These were, however, not used for landing marble only, but also for wine and other things, as shown by the sculpture of an amphora on one of the walls, to indicate the place for landing such things on their way to the great warehouses above, called 'the Emporium.'"

The ruins of the Emporium consist of a large quadrangle, open on the side towards the river, and occupied on the other three sides with warehouses. Several of the quays in connection with this building have been lately (1868) excavated, and a vast number of valuable marble blocks of great size exhumed from the silt with which the river had covered them. These quays are mainly of brick, the walls against the cliff faced with *opus reticulatum*. Mr. Parker thinks that the reticulated work is of the first century. He considers that the newly excavated quays were intended to replace some older ones, then found to be placed at too low a level, and consequently abandoned. But why were the marble blocks left there? It seems more probable that they were neglected, and gradually silted up by successive floods during some continued period of great political and social distress.

The Coliseum (Mr. Burn, p. 236, note).—"The holes which are so conspicuous in the travertine blocks of the exterior were probably made in the Middle Ages for the purpose of extracting the iron clamps by which the stones were fastened together. Another opinion is that they were the holes in which the beams of the buildings which clustered round the Coliseum in the Middle Ages were fixed. See the treatise of Snaresius "De Foraminibus Lapidum," in Sallengre's Thesaurus, vol i., p. 313."

The general opinion now is that these holes were caused by the rusting of the iron clamps with which the stones had been fastened together.

[1] See Flaminius Vacca Memor', apud Fea Miscellanea, vol. i. No. 1.

This rust splits stone and causes the iron to fall out by a natural process not requiring any violence. The holes are always at the edge of the stones, just where clamps would come of the same simple form as those used in the wall of Servius Tullius. This appears to have been a common practice of the Roman builders for some centuries, when the nature of the stone or other circumstances seemed to call for such a precaution.

Mr. Burn, p. 219.—Frontin. de Aquæd., §§ 5, 20, 21, 65. Mr. J. H. Parker, Archæologia, vol. xlii., pt. 1., p. 11, thinks that we should read in all the four passages of Frontinus *specum* for *spem*. The accus. *specum* occurs in Suet. Nero. 48, and *specus* is fem. in Front. 17. But it seems impossible that *spem* could have been employed as an abbreviation for *specum* in the MS.

(P. 227.) Frontin. de Ag. 19, 20; Plin. Ep. vii. 29. Mr. Parker's conjecture that Pallantiani Palatini can hardly be admitted as possible. Arch. Journ. xxiv. p. 345. From Frontin. 19, 20, 21, and 5, 65, it seems to follow that Spes Vetus was the name of the district near the Porta Maggiore, where the Neronian arches of the Aqua Claudia leave the main aqueduct. Dionysius, ix. 24, mentions a ἱερὸν Ἐλπίδος there. J. H. Parker, Archæol. Journ. xxiv. p. 345, thinks that spes means specus.

The word *specus* is a local technical word for the tunnel conduit of an aqueduct, not used out of Rome, or in immediate connection with Rome. The word was not to be found in that sense in any Latin dictionary until quite recently; it was equally unknown to the original editors of Frontinus, who filled up the abbreviation "spe" with "spem," instead of "specum." Mr. Parker printed and distributed in Rome last season a brochure containing *all* the passages in Frontinus in which the word occurs, and facsimiles of the best manuscript of the author, that of Monte Casino. He has shown clearly that in every instance *specus* makes good sense of each passage in an obvious natural meaning. "Spes" generally requires a very forced and unnatural interpretation, not in any degree borne out by the facts.

J. H. P.

PAROCHIAL AND FAMILY HISTORY OF THE DEANERY OF TRIGG MINOR, IN THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL. By Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., &c.

Since our last notice of the parochial and family history of the deanery of Trigg Minor, by Mr. (now Sir John) Maclean, two additional parts have been issued, which are in no respect inferior to the first, which related exclusively to the parish of Blisland, in the county of Cornwall. These latter parts relate to the several parishes of Bodmin and of St. Bruered, or Breward, and of the borough, or secular district, of the former. That this part of the county had been brought under subjection to the Roman invasion is testified by the occurrence of Roman coins, as well as of inscriptions in these and various other parts of Cornwall, notwithstanding the claim, by some early, patriotic topographers, to a sort of exemption of Cornwall from Roman subjection, which is plainly untenable. So the establishment of Christianity in and throughout both East and West Cornwall, is illustrated by numerous way-side crosses and other like relics of very early type in the present work, though the

rude material employed on them forbids us to expect in this district any refined work of art.

It was imagined, for some time, that Arabic numerals of the twelfth century had been in ordinary use at that early date; but the fragments of a sepulchral inscription found in Bodmin Church have been re-examined, and referred by Mr. Jago and by Sir John Maclean to a far later date, and restored to the much more probable date of the sixteenth, and perhaps of the seventeenth, century.

To these observations on the parish church of Bodmin may be added the fact, heretofore only suspected, that the present church, notwithstanding its large dimensions and decorative features, is probably *not* the original church of the Priory of St. Petrock, of which the remains were in all probability removed and sold upon the dissolution. See part ii. p. 150; part iii. p. 345. The statement of the author relating to the Berry tower and its adjacent cemetery, the Bodmin copper tokens, and the gilds and fraternities of the same town, had received little or nothing either of notice or explanation from any previous historians.

The several manors which, before or since the dissolution of St. Petrock's Priory, have been found to exist separately from the "manor of the Priory" are not fewer than *six*, which are all now traced, and described and identified in the present work.

In addition to these topographical notices, the author has largely entered into the family history and heraldry of families more or less associated with the lands and property within the local limits of the borough or parish, including those of the families of De Bodmin or Bodman, St. Margaret, Carburra, Magle, Flammank, Phillips, Edyvean, Bligh, otherwise Blight, Achym, Michell, Spry or Sprey, Dagga, Bullock, Pennington, Thomas, Vyvyan, Munday, Tailour, Beket, Bere, Kempthorne, Hobbs, Collins, Brown, and Pomerory.

The third part of the volume relates to the parish of "St. Bruered," a saint unknown, we believe, to any English hagiology, and better known for some two or three centuries past by the common name of "Simonward," a supposed corrupt spelling of "St. Breward." This district, now parochial, is, or was originally, co-extensive with the manor of Hamatethy, which is to be found in Domesday. It is presumed that this is a parish founded by the Peverell family by the process to which Selden attributes the gradual formation of all parochial divisions, viz., by the voluntary appropriation of the tithes by the lords of manors for the ecclesiastical purposes of the lords and their under-tenants. This manor passed from the Peverells to the Hungerfords and Bottreaux ("de Boterellis," a Breton name). As in the case of Bodmin the author has traced the various lands and families connected with this parish or manor, including those of Burdon, Peverell, Hungerford, Hastings, Wylyngton, Trelawder and others, whose pedigrees are abundantly illustrated.

The three parishes already included in the work form only a part of the twenty which now constitute the entire deanery of Trigg Minor. Of these deaneries there are in Cornwall eight. Whether Sir J. Maclean will be spared to complete the work on the present scale for the entire county is open to question, but at all events we may be assured that, so far as his future labours extend, we cannot fail to find a very valuable contribution to the history of Cornwall.

Archæological Intelligence.

It is well known to every antiquary interested in the pursuits of topography that large and highly important collections for the History of Kent had been formed by the late Rev. T. Streatfeild, and also by our valued friend and member, the late Rev. Lambert Larking. A prospectus and specimen, of great beauty and promise, was circulated some thirty years ago; and costly preparations, in admirable illustrative materials, have long been in readiness for this great undertaking. We learn, with much satisfaction, that its realisation may now at length be hopefully anticipated. It is proposed to issue the work, by subscription, in parts, at twenty-five shillings each, small folio: a limited number of large papers will also be issued. This long-desired History has been consigned to most efficient hands, the arrangement and editorial care having been undertaken by Mr. Godfrey-Faussett, by whom subscribers' names are received, and who will reply to all communications addressed to him—"The Precincts, Canterbury." The publisher is Mr. Toovey, Piccadilly, London.

In a previous volume we invited the notice of our readers to a projected work of very great utility and value to all students of prehistoric and early antiquities, by Mr. S. B. Waring, entitled "Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments of Remote Ages, with some Notes on Early Irish Architecture." In this volume, recently produced by Mr. Day, will be found a more ample and systematic collection of evidence than has been hitherto supplied in any country. It contains 108 plates, presenting more than 1,200 subjects, of which a considerable portion has been derived from unpublished and original materials. The series is brought down to the eighth century. The plates are accompanied by descriptive text. Price four guineas.

On a former occasion, on the approach of the meeting of the Institute in a field of such varied and numerous attractions as Dorsetshire, we had the satisfaction of inviting attention to the Manual-Index comprising the summary of many years of laborious investigation by Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A.,—the illustrated Archæological Map of Dorset, giving the sites of the numerous Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish vestiges, printed in tints, and the sites coloured according to classification. It were much to be desired that such a map, with the classified index that serves as so useful a supplement, could be supplied for every county and district in the British Islands. We may now announce with gratification that the talented author of these general auxiliaries of careful and well-directed research in the country of the Durotriges, and to whom we are indebted for the valuable volume on the Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, with its numerous highly instructive illustrations, has in

forward preparation his long-expected work on Ancient Dorset, being a description of the antiquities of the county, arranged under the various successive periods, as above enumerated. This volume, in small folio, profusely illustrated, will range with Mr. Warne's former work on the Celtic Tumuli; it will include, moreover, an Essay on the Ancient Mints of the county, and an Introduction to the Ethnology of Dorset, with several other contributions by an archæologist of great local knowledge and attainments, Mr. T. W. Wake Smart, of Cranborne, the author of a very agreeable contribution to topographical literature, the Chronicle of Cranborne and its Chase. We believe that more precise information in regard to Mr. Warne's "Ancient Dorset," now nearly completed for issue to the subscribers, may be obtained from Mr. D. Sydenham, Library, Bournemouth, or from Mr. Russell Smith, Soho Square, London.





Fig. 1.—The Chambered Tumulus in the Park, Plas Newydd, Anglesey. View from the north-west.
From a drawing by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., F.S.A.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1871.

THE CHAMBERED TUMULUS IN PLAS NEWYDD PARK, ANGLESEY.

By the Hon. WILLIAM OWEN STANLEY, M.P., F.S.A.

With the exception of Cornwall there is, perhaps, no county in England and Wales so rich in Celtic remains as Anglesey, or possessing so varied a form of megalithic structures, cromlechs and cistvaens, meini-hirion and chambered tumuli. Many of these have been described of late, and figured in the pages of the Archæological Journal and Archæologia Cambrensis ; but hitherto one of the most interesting has not been so fully noticed as it deserves, from its size and peculiar features.

In the park of Plas Newydd, the seat of the Marquis of Anglesey, towards the southern end, and on the left hand of a path leading to the kitchen gardens, there is to be seen a large green mound or tumulus with two oak trees of considerable size growing upon it. No one can pass without being struck with its appearance, situated as it is in a valley of surpassing beauty, surrounded by magnificent trees of all sorts. The vista to the south-east is terminated by the grand range of Carnarvonshire mountains, Snowdon with its triple head above all the others (see woodcuts, fig. 1).

The visitor, descending to examine the mound, will find on the east side that excavations have been made in former times, disclosing the entrance to an interior chamber or cist which once contained the bones or ashes of the great warrior, in whose memory this stupendous mound was erected. We may speculate whether he was one of the heroes who died on this spot fighting against the victorious

legion of the Romans led by Paulinus Suetonius; more probably he may have been one of an earlier race.

The mound itself, as is usually the case, is formed of earth and the small fragments of limestone which abound in the surrounding soil. The cist is composed of large flat slabs of limestone, the dimensions of which are accurately given in the accompanying plan, from drawings and measurements taken by the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, jun. of Menaifron (fig. 2). The peculiar feature of this sepulchral chamber is the front stone closing the entrance to the cist.

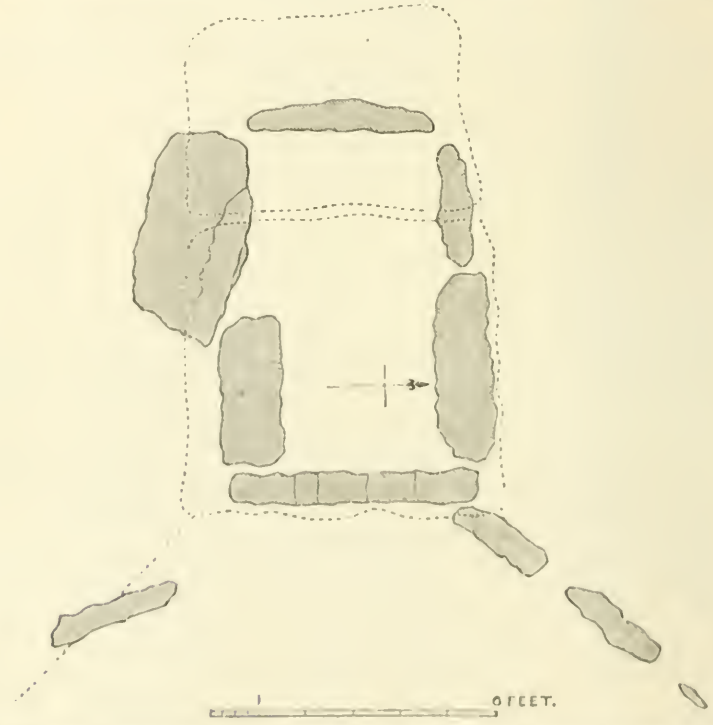


Fig. 2.—Plan of the chamber in the Tumulus, Plas Newydd Park. From measurements taken by the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, jun.

It faces the east, and was perforated in a remarkable manner (fig. 3). This stone is now broken in half, but the lower portion remains in its original position; it has two circular holes, about ten inches in diameter, artificially made in it; the upper portion of the stone having been broken, and probably removed, when the mound was first excavated, we

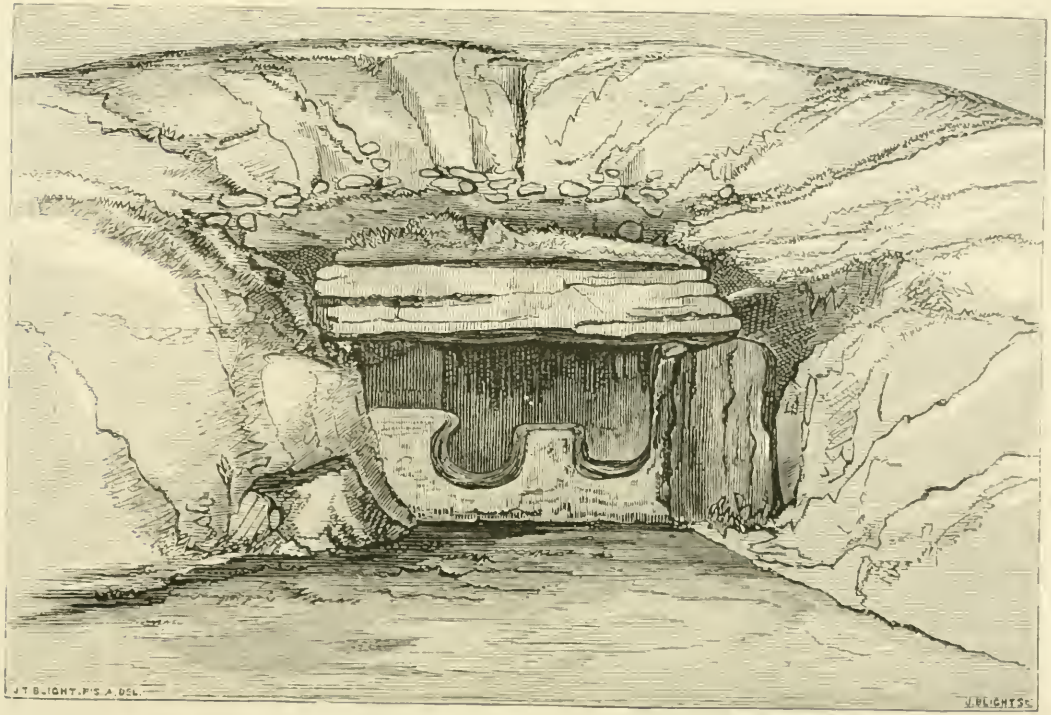


Fig. 3.—Entrance to the Chamber, with holed stone facing south-east, Plas Newydd Tumulus, Anglesey.
From a drawing by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., F.S.A.



cannot with any certainty say that the stone had been of one piece, or that the holes had been perfect circles. About three-quarters appear to remain ; and from the circumstance that this stone, on the north side, reaches within seven inches of the covering stone at the top, we may, I think, conclude that it was originally one perfect stone, which closed the entrance to the chamber. The holes are chamfered off on the outside. The entrance is about 2 ft. 3 ins. high, and 5 ft. wide.

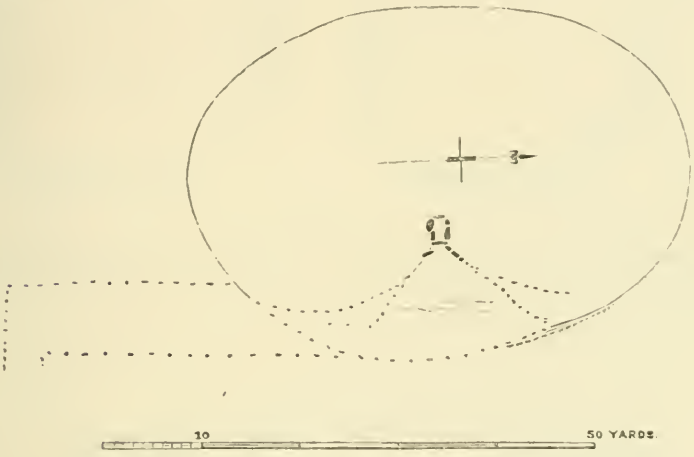


Fig. 4.—Ground plan of the chambered Tumulus, Plas Newydd.

The dimensions of the tumulus are about 150 ft. in length, 105 ft. in width, and 14 to 15 ft. in height (see ground-plan, fig. 4).

Of late attention has been called to such perforations occurring in the front or side-stones of sepulchral chambers in India and other parts. I have endeavoured to ascertain how many similar structures are to be found in this country. I am indebted to my relation, Mr. Albert Way, for a reference to the account of one presenting the same peculiarities of form and structure. It has been published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,[1] in the description given by the Rev. S. Lysons of a chambered tumulus at Rodmarton, Gloucestershire. This mound is of a kind known as "long barrows." Its dimensions are as follow : length, 176 ft. ; width, 71 ft. ; height, 10 ft. (See ground-plan,

[1] Proc. Soc. Antiq., second series, vol. ii. p. 275.



Fig. 6.—Chamber on north side, Rodmarton.

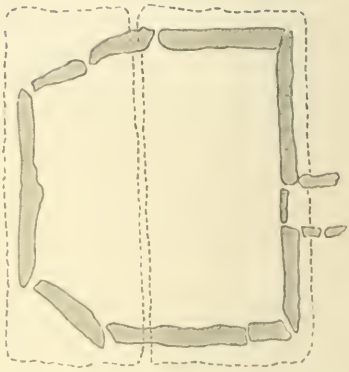


Fig. 7.—Chamber on south side, Rodmarton.

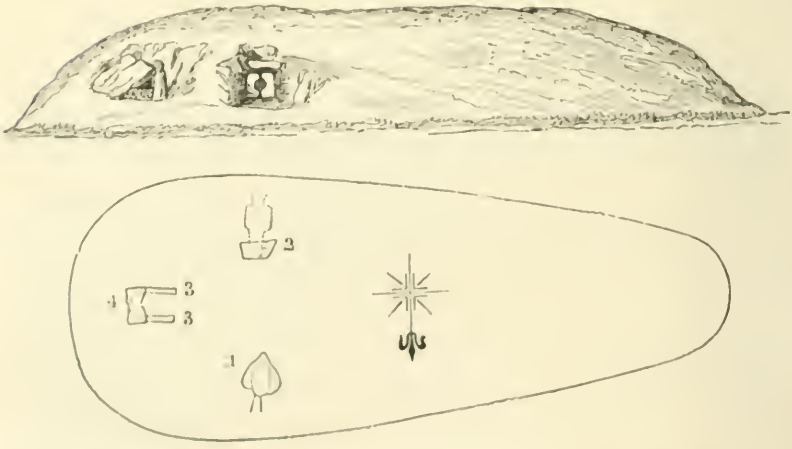


Fig. 5.—Windmill Tump, a chambered barrow at Rodmarton, Gloucestershire. Elevation and ground plan. Scale, 50 ft. to 1 in. 1, Stone covering the north chamber. 2, South chamber. 3, 3, Upright stones. 4, Leaning stone.

fig. 5, also plans of the chambers, figs. 6, 7.) The entrance to the north chamber was closed, nearly to the roof, by a barrier of two stones placed side by side, upright, in the ground, and hollowed out on their two inner and adjoining edges, so as to leave a sort of porthole of an oval shape (woodcut, fig. 8). In some instances, as at Uley, Gloucestershire (fig. 9), there is a doorway with jambs and a horizontal slab.

Another very similar example may be cited that was brought to light, in 1808, in the "long barrow" at Avening, Gloucestershire, as described by the antiquary of that county, Fosbrooke.[2] The entrance of the chamber was closed, as at Rodmarton, by two upright slabs, or jambs, hollowed out so as, when placed side by side, to leave a sort of central porthole, through which the tomb might be entered by a person in a creeping posture[3] (see fig. 10). These openings are termed "tolmens" by Lysons, and it was imagined that the structure was thus adapted to the purpose of successive interments. In another instance, the Fairy's Toote, a long barrow at Nempnet, Somerset, there was a further variety of the "tolmen" entrance—a perforated stone shutting up the avenue between the walls of approach.[4] The Rev. W. C. Lukis describes a similar arrangement in a chambered barrow at Kerlescant in Brittany. Much valuable information on chambered long barrows, and the structures enclosed within them, will be found in Dr. Thurnam's Memoir on Ancient British Barrows, published by the Society of Antiquaries.[5]

Mr. Blight mentions a cromlech at Trevethy,[6] in Cornwall, with a circular hole in the covering stone. Other instances, in Brittany and elsewhere, are noticed in the Archæologia Cambrensis.[7]

Col. Meadows Taylor, in his interesting account of the cromlechs in the Dekhan in India, published by the Royal Irish Academy,[8] describes a large group of cromlechs in

[2] Encycl. Antiq., pp. 544, 547.

[3] Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. 1868, 40, plates 2, 3.

[4] It was opened in 1789. See Collinson's and other local histories, and Gent. Mag. for 1789, 1792, &c.

[5] Archæologia, vol. xlii. pp. 199—243.

[6] Described by Norden, A.D. 1584. There is a model in the British Museum. Note p. 291, Col. Forbes Leslie.

[7] Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, vol. xv. p. 198. Mr. C. Thorne, in a note on the construction of Cromlechs, points out that M. Carro, in his "Voyage chez les Celtes," mentions the *dolmen* of Trie as having the slab on the south side perforated by a round hole; also another near Beauvais, at Villers St. Sepulcre, and elsewhere in Brittany.

[8] This memoir was first given by Col. Taylor in the Transactions of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Jan. 1853. The kistvaen with a circular aperture has been figured in Col. Forbes Leslie's Early Races of Scotland, ii. p. 290; and Lubbock, Prehistoric Times, p. 121, second edit.

Shirapoor, on the Bheema and Krishna rivers. They are called by the natives "Mori Munni," or Mories' houses, and regarded as vestiges of a supposed dwarf race of great strength. These Druidical Celtic, Scythian, or Aryan remains are most instructive. Many of the closed kistvaens had round holes in the centre slab, on the south side: diameter, from 9 to 4 inches (figs. 11, 12). Colonel Meadows Taylor states that this peculiarity is found to exist in similar remains in Brittany and in England, Kits Coty House, in Kent, being a well-known example; and such objects exist also in Circassia, according to Mr. Bell.[9] Mr. R. A. Cole mentions, in his account of the cromlechs of Southern India, a double one with a hole in each end[1] (see woodcut, fig. 13).

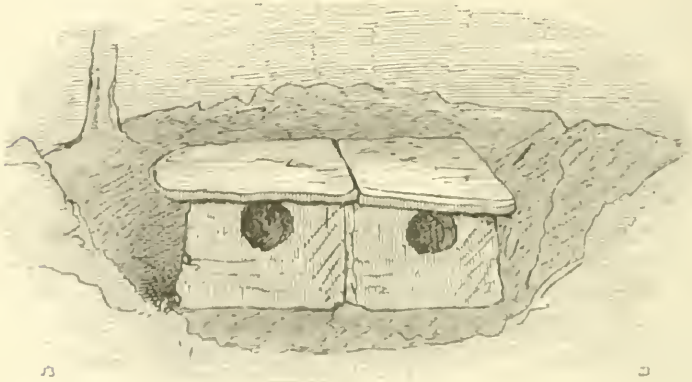


Fig. 13.—Cromlechs of Southern India. Each cavity 7 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. Formed of unhewn stone. Upper lines about 11 in. by 4. (From a drawing by R. A. Cole.)

I may here, however, remark that Kits Coty House (fig. 14), has no perforation in the front, or in any of the other stones of which it is composed;[2] but it is remarkable as being composed of three upright stones instead of four, making it an open cromlech; or, as Col. Meadows Taylor goes on to say, "I here make a distinction between kistvaen and cromlech. They are similarly constructed, except that the former, whether with or without a top, has always four sides, and

[9] Travels in Circassia, i. p. 151.

[1] Trans. Ethnological Society, vol. vii. N. S. p. 299.

[2] A good representation of Kits Coty House was given in Col. Forbes Leslie's Early Races of Scotland, ii. p. 275; by his courteous permission it has been reproduced in this memoir. Compare Camden's description of it in 1590; Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 116, pl. vii.: Gent. Mag. May 1753, p. 248; Borlase, Antiqu. Cornw p. 224.

the latter only three. In none of the open cromlechs could anything be found, and the original earth of the floors remained undisturbed. In the closed or four-sided cromlechs were found human ashes, portions of bone, and charcoal mixed with pieces of broken pottery, red and black, with the invariable *pandre matti*, or black earth mould, brought from a distance." Of 2129 dolmens in one district in the Dekhan more than 1100 had the lateral opening.

Col. Forbes Leslie, in his remarks upon this memoir by Col. Meadows Taylor, observes that these kistvaens are altogether above ground. They never appear to have been under a mound, like the dolmens. They were probably used as sacrificial altars. Speaking of the closed kistvaens of the Dekhan, with the round hole in one of the stones which forms the end or side of the monument, it may have been intended for the spirit to pass through in progress to the new body which it was to occupy in its destined transmigration; and, as Col. Leslie presumed, through this opening the spirit was expected to convey the arms, ornaments, and valuables deposited for its use, but still found in such tombs.[3] The Hindus believe that the soul of a person deceased exists, but in ethereal or unsubstantial form, until certain necessary funeral ceremonies are performed. It then passes into a more substantial form, described as about the size and length of a man's thumb. The ceremonies are continued daily for ten days; then once a month until the final ceremony takes place at the end of the year. The soul is supplied with food daily, cakes of rice and milk, rich libations of water.[4]

It is not disputed, I apprehend, that the Druids believed in the Pythagorean doctrines, the pre-existence of souls, and their transmigration from one vehicle to another.

Pennant, in his account of the cromlech and tumulus at Plas Newydd, writes as follows:—"Not far from the cromlech is a large *carnedd*. Part has been removed, and within was discovered a cell about 7 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, covered at top with two flat stones, and lined on the sides with others. To get in I crept over a flag placed across the entrance. On the top of the stone were two semicircular holes of size sufficient to take in the human neck. It is conjectured that above might have been another; so that both

[3] Forbes Leslie, vol. ii. p. 299. [4] Carey's Rámayán, iii. p. 72.

together might perform the office of a stocks. It is indeed conjecture, yet not an improbable one, that in this place had been kept the wretches destined for sacrifice; as it is well known that they performed those execrable rites, and often upon captives who had suffered long imprisonment, perhaps in cells similar to this."[5]

Had Pennant lived and written in these days, he would, with his acute mind, most probably have compared the holed stone in the sepulchral chamber at Plas Newydd with the kistvaens of the East. In their perforated entrance-stone he would have traced the link between East and West, and in his mind's eye have followed the great migration of peoples from the plains and hills of India, gradually spreading their religious rites, manners, and customs, as far as the bleak islands of the far West; leaving their stupendous stone structures, as they passed, an indelible witness of their passage, and of the cradle from which they sprang. He might also have found reason to doubt whether the religion of the Druids was in fact, as had been alleged, tainted with the horrid rites of human sacrifice.



Fig. 15.—Ground plan of the double cromlech, near the stables, Plas Newydd.

On comparing Pennant's engraving of the Plas Newydd cromlech (published 1781) with the present appearance; also finding in Pughe's Cambria Depicta (1816) this account, "Some time before I saw it, it was supposed that some part of its supporters had given way on one side, which greatly alarmed the family: it was in consequence propped up with pieces of thick timber;" I am inclined to think that the

[5] Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 238.

projecting stone at the north-east end, supporting the cap-stone, has been placed there as a support, of late years, by the Anglesey family. The stone is placed at an angle most unusual in all cromlechs, and it is not figured in Pennant's view (see figs. 16, 17, and plan, fig. 15).[6]

In connection with the peculiar construction of the Plas Newydd tumulus, and the double perforation of the front stone, Tylor, in his book upon Primitive Culture, under the article called "Animism," throws much light upon the holed tombs in India, in the Dekhan and elsewhere. He treats of the early belief entertained by most nations of the material and substantial nature of the soul. Thus it is an usual proceeding to make openings through solid materials to allow souls to pass. The Iroquois in old times used to leave an opening in the grave for lingering souls to visit the body, and some of them still bore holes in the coffin for the same purpose. We may give this as a plausible reason for leaving the circular hole or holes in the portal stone of sepulchral structures, such as Plas Newydd, and other similar places of burial in this and other countries of the world. The Chinese make a hole in the roof to let out the soul at death; and lastly, the custom of opening a window or door for the departing soul when it quits the body is, to this day, a very familiar superstition in France, Germany, England and Scotland. The reader will doubtless recal the tragic scene of the dying smuggler in Meg Merrilies' hut, and the assertion of the hag, when blamed for leaving the entrance of the lair open. "Wha ever heard of a door being barred when a man was in the death-thraw? How d'ye think the spirit to get awa through bolts and bars like thae?" (Guy Mannering, c. xxvii.).

It may not be out of place to notice here that recent research leads to the belief, or rather to the confirmation of the fact, that all megalithic structures, whether sepulchral or for religious rites and ceremonies, were first known in the East.

Most of the cromlechs in Anglesey appear to have been originally chambered cists covered over with a mound of earth, like this tumulus at Plas Newydd. The great cromlech near the stables at Plas Newydd bears all the appear-

[6] Allusion is made by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell to this additional supporter of the enormous cap-stone in his memoir on Cromlechs in North Wales, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xv. p. 142.

ance of having been covered over, and a circle of large stones arranged round the mound. Some of these stones are still to be seen. The very curious and interesting chambered tomb at Bryncelli, about a mile distant, was covered with a mound in the memory of man.[7] When first opened it contained, as has been stated, the bones of those who had therein been buried, arranged on stone seats round the central cell, which was supported by a stone pillar. The bodies, probably, were introduced through the long narrow passage which communicated with the outside of the mound, like the entrance at New Grange in Ireland.

I cannot find any authentic mention of urns having been found in or under cromlechs. The Rev. Hugh Prichard, however, states that a cinerary urn was found near the cromlech at Henblas, Anglesey.[8] According to tradition urns were found under the cromlech at Trefigneth, described on the next page.

The urn-burials, which are frequent in Anglesey, seem to have been placed in a rudely-formed cell composed of flat stones, to prevent the pressure of the earth and destruction of the urn. A small mound was frequently raised over the urn, as at Bronwen's tomb on the banks of the Alaw, and at Porth Dafarch.[9]

Anglesey has many large upright stones or meinihirion scattered in all parts. These seem to have marked battles fought in the vicinity, or to have been raised over the tomb of a slain warrior. Wherever they are seen, tradition points out some memorable conflict that had there occurred in ancient times.

Mr. Barnwell, in a recent memoir in the Archæologia Cambrensis, has stated that the great question whether all cromlechs are the perfect or imperfect remains of sepulchral chambers, or the works of Druidic hands, must in the year 1869 be considered finally and satisfactorily settled; the theory of Druidic altars being, it is hoped, finally disposed of.[1] If Mr. Barnwell means to affirm that all megalithic structures were originally sepulchral, I must, I fear, differ from him. At one time, all stone structures were called Druids' altars; now, it is contended that none were ever

[7] See also "Parclodiad y Gawres," by the Rev. H. Prichard, Arch. Camb., third series, vol. xv. p. 103.

[8] Ibid. vol. xii. p. 169.

[9] Arch. Camb., 3rd Series, vol. xiv. pp. 222, 223.

[1] Cromlechs in North Wales, Arch. Camb., third series, vol. xv. p. 118.

used for religious rites and ceremonies. We may thus run into another extreme. If we take a wider view of this question, and examine into the nature of the stone altars, circles, and avenues, existing in other countries as well as our own, we must pause before we come to such a conclusion. The earliest notice of stone structures is contained in the Bible history. There they are all connected with worship, either of Baal or of the Supreme Deity. They were of unhewn stone (altars of sacrifice), set up on high places or near groves. We read in the Book of Deuteronomy, "Ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars" (upright stones), "and burn their groves with fire." [2] Joshua set up a stone as a witness; many other allusions to megalithic monuments occur also in Scripture, too numerous to quote.

Kits Coty House, in its present condition, an open three-stone cell, with a covering stone, bears no appearance of being sepulchral; and I am informed that cromlechs existing in Cornwall and Brittany are apparently of the same character.

In connection with the subject of this memoir, the following notices of some megalithic remains that exist in another quarter of the Island of Anglesey cannot fail to prove of interest to the members of the Institute. They are here reproduced, with some additional particulars, from the communication formerly made by me to the Cambrian Archæological Association.[3]

Upon a rocky knoll close to the farm-house of Trefigneth, about a mile and a half from Holyhead, there is a cromlech, or rather kistvaen, of which a representation is here given [4] (fig. 18). From this spot there is a commanding view over the bay of Holyhead, with the Skerries Island and lighthouse and the opposite coast of Anglesey in the distance.

This is first mentioned by Aubrey, in his Monumenta Britannica, cited by Bishop Gibson, "There is in Anglesey, about a mile from Holy-head, on a hill near the way that leads to Beaumaris, a Monument of huge stones. They are about twenty in number, and between four and five feet high; at the

[2] Deut. c. xii. v. 3. See also Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, under "Stones."

[3] Arch. Cambr., 3rd series, vol. xiii. p. 234.

[4] Lewis Morris, in his account of Holyhead Church addressed to Browne Willis about 1710, remarks that "at a place called Treviorweth, in this parish there is a cromlech composed after a very artificial manner, and seems to be three monuments erected over the graves of some great men." Cambr. Register, vol. iii. p. 216.

Northern end of it there are two stones about six feet high. They stand upon an hillock in a Farm call'd Trevigneth, and have no other name than Llecheu [*id est*, Flat-stones] whence the field where they are rais'd is call'd Kaer Llecheu." Aubrey may probably have visited the place in 1660, when on his return from a journey to Ireland he was "like to be shipwrecked at Holyhead, but no hurt done," as he states in his Autobiographical Memoranda.[5]

About seventy or eighty years ago many of the stones, which formed the covered chambers, were wantonly taken away for gateposts and lintels. The late Lady Stanley, of Penrhos, preserved it from further destruction at that time, and it remains now as it then was. The remains present the appearance of having formed a covered chamber, of about 20 ft. in length, 4 ft. in height inside, and 4 ft. in width, composed of a row of upright stones on each side, covered with large flat slabs. There is a tradition that, when first exposed on the removal of the superincumbent mound of earth and stones, urns and human bones were found inside. Of this, however, no reliable record appears to have been preserved.

About a quarter of a mile from this cromlech, near Trearddur Farm, close to the road on the right, there are the traces of a similar cromlech or kistvaen, now nearly obliterated, called Coetan Arthur. Near this spot, in 1837, was found a vessel containing a great many Roman brass coins of the later emperors. I took them to the British Museum, but none of the coins were peculiar, and I regret that they were purloined in transmission by post to the owner.[6]

Nearer Holyhead, on the same road, there is a fine meinhir (long stone), on the right, in a field near Ty Mawr Farm.

The Central Committee desire to renew the grateful expression of the obligations of the Institute to the kind liberality of the author of the foregoing Memoir, by whom the whole of the illustrations have been contributed.

[5] Camden's Britannia, translated by Bp. Gibson, vol. ii. p. 812.

[6] A considerable number of Roman coins have been brought to light at various times near Holyhead. Lewis Morris, in his account of Holyhead Church, states that a great quantity had been found in the parish in 1710, some of them as clear as if recently struck; he mentions coins of Constantine, Constantius, Helena, Crispus, Licinius, Licinianus, Fausta, and several others. Cambr Register, vol iii. p. 216.

THE CROMLECHS OF ANGLESEY.

On a former occasion, in calling the notice of archæologists to the grand megalithic remains at Plas Newydd, a concise enumeration of the principal remains of the same class was given by Mr. Stanley, that could not fail, without entering into any descriptive details, to invite attention to the remarkable number and important character of the cromlechs that exist in Anglesey, or have existed within recent memory. It has seemed advisable to offer a more extended enumeration of these curious vestiges of prehistoric date, now appreciated with intelligent interest, and carefully studied in various countries of Europe; still, however, exposed to wanton injury,—too frequently, even within recent recollection, mutilated and destroyed.

It may not be without interest to note the small beginnings of antiquarian interest in such remains. Barely noticed by Camden, the "Nourrice of Antiquity," the cromlech and the meinhir were by some regarded possibly as adventitious accidents of nature, too massively imposing to be really the device of man. With Edward Lluyd and Rowlands, Borlase, and the unwearied observer, Pennant, these mysterious vestiges were at length more truly appreciated. How changed are now our notions of their claims as evidence subsidiary to history, when we find the inquisitive De Foe, in his circuit of personal inspection, about 1725, pronouncing that "there is nothing of note to be seen in the Isle of Anglesea," save the Edwardian fortress of Beaumaris. He had heard, indeed, of huge stones, so disposed as to slope like the roof of a barn; of two circles, also, such as Stonehenge, but larger. He did not care to see them. A particular kind of monument only arrested his attention. Of this he took notice, namely, single stones "set up on one end, which, being so very large, are likely to remain till the end of time."

The origin and first use of the term cromlech, in the sense now familiar to us, remain in uncertainty. It has been stated that it was thus used first by Rowlands, of whose "Mona" the first edition appeared in 1723. He observes that the huge stones mounted on erect supporters, and considered by him to have been altars, were, and are to this day, vulgarly called by the name of *crom-lech*.[1] The late learned president of the Royal Irish Academy, Dr. Todd, in a memorable discussion on the "Cromlech question," at the Cambrian meeting in Cardiff, expressed his impression that the term had thus originated; in this conclusion Mr. Barnwell, with others who have given special attention to cromlechs, seems to concur.[2] This notion, however, is erroneous. Mr. T. Stephens, of Merthyr, in his "Memoir on the Names of Cromlechau in South Wales," cites the description of the surprising example at Pentre Evan, Pembrokeshire, as given in George Owen's MS. history of the county, and designated "Maen y Gromlech" (*sic*). Owen wrote after 1588, probably about 1600.[3] Other early instances of the use of the word occur. It were needless here to pursue this subject further; Mr. Stephens seems clearly to establish that the name cromlech, although in use in the seventeenth century, long prior to the time of Rowlands, is comparatively of no ancient authority, and is not found in the Welsh laws, the Triads, or any of the older MSS.[4] As regards the various capricious names locally assigned to such monuments by popular tradition, he points out, with truth, that they throw no light whatever upon the remote origin or the use of the cromlech.

The term cromlech, it must be observed, has been adopted in England only: in Ireland such monuments are commonly called *leabhaidh*—beds or graves, giants' graves, &c.; in

[1] Mona Antiqua, p. 47, second edit.

[2] Arch. Cam., vol. iv. p. 219; see also the memoir on Celtic Monuments, by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, ibid., third series, vol. vii. p. 49.

[3] "They call the stone Gromlech, but I think the true etymologie is Grymlech, that is, the stone of strength, for that great strength was used in the setting it to lye in sorte as it doth." George Owen's MS., cited in Fenton's Hist. of Pembrokeshire, p. 561, where the grand cromlech at Pentre Evan is figured.

[4] Some importance has been attached to the occurrence of the phrase "cromlechydd y creigiau" in two passages of Isaiah, in Bishop Morgan's Welsh Version, published in 1588. In one of these (c. 2, v. 19), the corresponding words in the Vulgate are, "In speluncas petrarum;" in our Bible, "holes of the rocks." In the other (c. 57, v. 5), "subter eminentes petras," "clifts of the rocks." It would certainly seem, as Dr. Todd observed, that the expression does not imply such isolated structures as are now familiarly designated cromlechs.

France, *dolmens* (Breton, daul, *table*, men, *pierre*); in Germany, *hünengräber*, and so forth. It is known on the Continent only as designating a circle of stones, commonly termed in France a cromlech (Breton, crom, *courbe* lech, *pierre*).[5]

It were doubtless desirable, for more thorough investigation of prehistoric monuments in the Principality, for comparison with similar remains in other parts of the country, and also with those in other lands, that an accurate *census*, so to speak, should be taken in each county, with references to previous notices of such remains, to engravings, and the like, whereby the former condition of our megalithic monuments may be to a certain degree ascertained, and the memory preserved of those that have perished. Several lists of the cromlechs of Anglesey had from time to time been compiled; these it has appeared desirable here to combine and to amplify, more especially as numerous scattered notices contained in the four series (twenty-six volumes) of the "Archæologia Cambrensis" are with difficulty available, through deficiency of indexes. The most recent enumeration, appended to Mr. Stanley's memoir on the Plas Newydd tumulus, reproduced in this Journal, comprised twenty-four examples, of which several had fallen, or been wholly destroyed.

In previous volumes of the "Archæologia Cambrensis" the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones had included cromlechau in his useful lists of Early British Remains, arranged by counties.[6] At an earlier period David Thomas, a frequent contributor to the "Cambrian Register," had preserved in the volume for 1796 a list of "Druidical altars," numbering 30 examples.[7] He had much knowledge of Welsh lore and antiquities, and at that time resided in Anglesey. The Rev. W. Bingley, who made his tour of Wales in 1798, drew up a list of 28 cromlechs in Mona. Comparatively few of these had been mentioned by Rowlands. In the history of the island, by Angharad Llwyd, published in 1833, it is stated that thirty had been enumerated by her

[5] See the useful manual by De Caumont, Antiquités Monumentales, Ère Celtique, pp. 74, 87.

[6] The portions relating to Anglesey will be found in vol. v. new series, p. 205, and vol. i. third series, p 24. In these will be found notices of twenty-one cromlechau.

[7] Cambr. Register, vol. ii. p. 288. See an account of David Thomas in Williams' Eminent Welshmen, p. 483.

father, the friend of Pennant, the Rev. John Lloyd, from whose MSS. numerous notices of these monuments were extracted in the course of her Parochial History.

The comparatively large number of such megalithic remains, in the most remote quarter of Wales, must not be regarded as merely a point of trivial antiquarian curiosity. The profusion of such vestiges in that *ultima tellus* cannot fail to have a special and direct bearing on the obscure question of the race and origin of the earliest settlers in the island of Môn.

We are not aware that any reliable advocates are now prepared to sustain the theory of the sacrificial purpose of the cromlech, or of its hallowed uses as a place of augury or other "Druidical" mysteries, speculations of which the Rev. John Jones, of Llanllyfni, was, as we imagine, the latest exponent, at the Cambrian meeting in 1848.[8] Many, however, who, with the older antiquarians, George Owen, Llwyd, George Griffiths, and such eminent authorities also, of our own days, as Petrie and Dr. Todd, and Lukis, yield ready assent to the conclusion that cromlechs are of a sepulchral character, may not be prepared to admit that "these structures are so very old as to have left no indications of their use or origin in either the language or traditions of the Kymry," as demonstrated, we apprehend, in the well-argued statement by Mr. Stephens, of Merthyr.[9] Still less would they be willing to give ear to the alleged conclusions, even of so distinguished an archæologist as Worsaae, that cromlechs are not even the vestiges of any Celtic or Cymric race.

We have yet to learn who were in fact the cromlech-builders, whose migrations may be tracked, as the Baron de Bonstetten has sought to demonstrate,[1] until their westward progress was brought to a close on the British Islands. The enigma of their nationality still presents perplexities that the most sagacious of our fellow-labourers have sought in vain satisfactorily to solve.

In closing these remarks, it is with much pleasure that I acknowledge the friendly assistance of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, of Menaifron, in the preparation of the following list.

ALBERT WAY.

[8] The Cromlech, a memoir read at the Carnarvon Meeting; Arch. Cambr. vol. iv. p. 42.

[9] Ibid., third series, vol. ii. p. 103.

[1] Essai sur les Dolmens, par le Baron A. de Bonstetten. Genève 1865.

CROMLECHS IN ANGLESEY.

1. Plas Newydd, Llanidan par. (s).

The most remarkable of the numerous cromlechs in Anglesey, with which indeed no other example in the British Islands may compare in magnitude of dimensions, and the grand impressive character of its aspect, is the renowned monument in the woods behind the house at Plas Newydd.[1] This is a double cromlech, the upper stone of the larger moiety measuring in length, according to Pennant, 12 ft. 7 in., 12 ft. in breadth and 4 ft. in thickness. It was supported by five tall stones, of which one has now fallen, and is so lofty that, as Pennant observes, a middle-sized horse might easily pass beneath. The lesser one, to the south of the great cromlech, is separated by a small interval, about 13 in.; the upper stone is almost square, measuring about 5½ ft. in each direction, and supported by four uprights. Rowlands, by whom this grand cromlech appears to have been first noticed, about 1723, mentions the site as formerly called Llwyn Moel, and that there probably was one of the larger Druidical groves. Mona Antiqua, p. 94, second edition. A small inaccurate representation is to be seen in pl. vii., and the dimensions are given as 13 ft. by 9, the thickness 3 ft.; those of the smaller adjunct 6 ft. by 5, thickness 3 ft. (Ibid. p. 100). It may be observed that Rowlands was, as some allege, the first writer by whom the term "cromlechs" was used to designate the megalithic remains under consideration. Pennant, in his journey in 1781, seems to have examined carefully both the cromlechs and the adjacent carnedd, amidst the venerable oaks, at that time belonging to Sir Nicholas Bayly. Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 236. A view by Moses Griffith accompanies his description,[2] from which the particulars given by King, Munim. Antiqua, p. 93, and in Gough's Additions to Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. p. 201, were chiefly taken. Amongst other notices of this celebrated cromlech, may be cited that by the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones, in his Memoir on the Cromlechs extant in Anglesey (in 1846), Arch. Journ. vol. iii. p. 41, with a view of the monument. See also his list of Prehistoric Remains of Wales, Arch. Cambr. N. S., vol. v. 205. He observes that he was not aware of any excavations having been made under it, but there is every appearance, from the formation of the ground, that it had once been surrounded by a carn or heap of stones. Mr. Jones suggests that probably the second cromlech in these cases served as the tomb of the wife, or the son, of the deceased chieftain. He has given, in the Archæologia Cambrensis (third series, vol. viii. p. 13), a second N.W. view of the Plas Newydd monument, as an illustration supplementary to a

[1] The ancient mansion, Llwyn y Moel, having been destroyed when the estate came into the possession of Dr. Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, 1616, the present name was given to the renovated dwelling.

[2] Some further particulars are given in the Rev. John Lloyd's Collections (Caerwys MS.) printed by his daughter Anghared, with detailed measurements of the stones, differing in some respects from the statement by Pennant, giving also the present condition of the minor pillar-stones, and other details. Hist. of Mona, pp. 238, 242. See also Bingley's Tour in 1798, vol. ii. p. 262; Pughe's Cambria Depicta, &c.

memoir "On the Construction of Giants' Houses, or Cromlechs," by H. M. Frederick VII., King of Denmark, translated from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. In the illustrations, the probable mode of raising massive blocks of stone upon inclined planes is set forth in a very interesting manner. In connexion with this curious subject, the observations of Mr. G. T. Clark, on occasion of the visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Plas Newydd, in 1860, claim special consideration. He described the operations that he had witnessed in India,—the means of elevating enormous masses of stone by inclined planes of earth, and cited a tomb near Poonah, where the process had been employed under his own observation, in the midst of a large British station. Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. vi. p. 369.

2. Plas Newydd.

Chambered Tumulus, described in the foregoing memoir by Mr. Stanley. The precise period when the excavations were made that brought to light the remarkable remains on the east side of the large mound has not been ascertained. It may be supposed, however, that the discovery of the cist, first described by Pennant, had occurred not long before his visit in 1781. Rowlands, about 1723, had noticed the mound as "one of the largest carnedds in Anglesey, yet scarce discerned and distinguished from a mount of earth, the stones being overgrown with earth and moss, and great trees growing thick upon it. It lies in a dry bottom, without any pillars now standing by it." Mona Antiqua, p. 94, second edit. The little representation of the mound, pl. vii., fig. 2, grotesquely unlike the object, is not without interest as shewing the oaks amidst masses of stone; the explanatory references indicate —"the even side 20 paces up;—the broken side,—the circumference 100 paces." There can be little doubt that the curious entrance to the internal cell had not at that time been exposed, and that it was unknown to Rowlands; it is probable that it was subsequently revealed on "the broken side" of the mound. It may likewise be inferred that it was not known to Mr. David Thomas, who would not have omitted to advert to so remarkable a peculiarity, in his "List of Cromlechau, or Druidical Altars in Anglesey." We there find mention only of an "artificial mount in the skirts of Plas Newydd wood, commonly called Bryn yr hên Bobl" [mound of the old people]; "supposed to have been a druidical sepulchral ground." Cambr. Reg., for 1796, vol. ii. p. 289. About 1858 some excavations were commenced by Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, labourers having been placed at his disposal by Lady Willoughby de Broke, who for some time has resided at Plas Newydd. No fresh result was obtained; it is very probable, however, that, as suggested by Mr. Wynne at the Bangor meeting of the Cambrian Association, another cell or cromlech, if not more, remain, as in the Rodmarton tumulus, of which a plan and section are given by Mr. Stanley, fig. 5, *supra*, concealed within the mound; it were very desirable that further researches should be carried out. Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. vi. p. 369.

3. Bryncelli ddu, Llanddeiniel par. (s).

This highly curious sepulchral monument is situated on the farm of Bryncelli-ddu, near Plâs Gwyn, now called Plâs Llwynon. It is marked "Yr Ogof" in the Ordnance Survey. Rowlands, in 1766, states that there are "in Llanddeiniel parish, at a place called Plâs Gwyn, formerly

Llwyn Llwyd, now Bryn Kelli, the remains of two *Carnedds*, within a few paces of one another." Of these carnedds he has given representations, pl. vii. p. 100. He observes that the stones, of which these vast accumulations were composed, had been carried away to form walls and enclosures. In the progress doubtless of this destruction, the discovery occurred, described by Pennant, Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 262. A few years previous to his visit, about 1780, a passage 3 ft. wide was found, and about 19½ ft. high, leading into a chamber of irregularly hexagonal form, 3 ft. in diameter, 7 ft. in height, the sides formed of six rude slabs. In the middle was a pillar supporting the roof, a large stone nearly 10 ft. in diameter. Along the sides of this chamber was a bench, on which lay human bones, that fell to dust at a touch. The diameter of the carnedd was about 100 ft.[3] Of the denuded cromlech-like structure, all traces of the carnedd having now disappeared, Mr. Longueville Jones gave a view, taken from the S. E., in 1846, and accompanying more full particulars. Arch. Cambr. vol. ii. p. 3. The most complete description, however, of these remarkable remains is to be found in the Memoir on Cromlechs in North Wales, by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xv. p. 140; with a ground plan, section, and interior view, shewing the gallery. These illustrations are from actual survey by Capt. Lukis, whose intimate knowledge of subjects of this nature, especially through his researches in the Channel Islands, is well known to all students of prehistoric remains. His account of Bryncelli-ddu claims careful consideration, as compared with the extraordinary statement given by Pennant.[4] The complete denudation of the structure at Bryncelli-ddu, in the course of a century, is a fact of considerable interest, as connected with the belief that all cromlechs had originally been enveloped in a mound of earth, a carnedd of stones and the like. It is gratifying to state that the remains have been fenced in and preserved from future injury by the care of Mr. C. Evans, of Plâs Gwyn, acting on behalf of the Marquis of Anglesey. Arch. Camb., N. S., vol. v. p. 205. They were visited during the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Bangor, in 1860: Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. vi. pp. 364—368. They are noticed by Angh. Llwyd, under Llanddeiniel Vab, Hist. Anglesey, p. 221;[5] Pughe, Cambria Depicta, p. 71.

4. Perthi-duon, Llanidan par. (s).

The late Rev. H. Longueville Jones notices a cromlech near the old church, to S.W., partly demolished. Arch. Cambr., new series, vol. v. p. 296. See also a note of this cromlech, ibid. vol. i., first series, p. 467, where it is stated that "copper chisels" were found under it, about 1825. Compare a tradition under Caer-llechau, *infra*. No. 8.

5. Bodowyr, Llanidan par. (s).

Near Llangadlo. Figured by Rowlands, Mona Ant., pl. v. fig. 2, p. 93,

[3] David Thomas, in his list of Cromlechau, or Druidical Altars in Anglesey, includes "1 artificial Mount at Bryn Celli, and a long-extended cavern beneath it." Cambr. Reg. for 1796, vol. ii. p. 289. The account is given also, King, Munim. Antiqua.

[4] See Arch. Cambr., *ut supra*, p. 142.

[5] Angharad asserts that in the fields adjacent to Bryn Celi there are upright stones of large dimensions, apparently the remains of cromlechau. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

and there described as "a pretty cromlech standing on the top of a hillock." He gives the dimensions as 7 ft. by 6 ft.; the cap-stone being a truncated pyramid, flat at the top; thickness, 6 ft. See also Camden's Brit., edit. by Gough, vol. iii. p. 200. A more accurate notice by the Rev. W. Wynn Williams will be found, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xv. p. 264.

Described as one of the smallest cromlechau known, and in perfect preservation. In his additions to Camden, Bishop Gibson gives a letter from the Rev. John Davies, Rector of Newburgh, in which he remarks that in Bod-Owyr, on the N.E. side of a round fort that he describes, there is a "*Kromlech*, which several, as well as myself, suppose to be another kind of sepulchral monument since the time of Druidism. This *Kromlech* at Bod-Owyr is more elegant than any monument that I have seen of its kind; for, whereas in all others which I have noted the top-stone as well as the supporters is altogether rude and unpolished, in this it is neatly wrought, considering the natural roughness of the stone, and pointed into several angles." Camden, second edit., by Gibson, 1722, vol. ii. p. 810. The Rev. H. Longueville Jones notices it in his memoir on the cromlechs extant in Anglesey, Arch. Journ., vol. iii. p. 42; see also his list Arch. Camb., N. S., vol. v. p. 206; and the more full notice by the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xv. p. 263, where the monument is figured.

6. Lôn Caerau Mawr, Llangeinwen par. (s).

One side-supporter only remains.

7. Tan-Tŵr, Llangeinwen par.

Noticed in Mr. Stanley's list, Arch. Cambr., fourth series, vol. i. p. 58. A single upright stone, or supporter, alone remains.

8. Caer-llechau, Llangeinwen par. (s).

Mentioned in Mr. Stanley's list, Arch. Cambr., fourth series, vol. i. p. 58. Some stones only recently remained; they are now (1871) entirely cleared away. There is a tradition that bronze weapons or implements of some kind were found near the spot. See a similar statement noticed *supra*, under Perthi-duon. No. 4.

9. Manan Pant y Saer, Llanfair yn Mathafarn eithav par. (E).

David Thomas mentions a cromlech at this place (Cambr. Reg., vol. ii. p. 989), the same probably that is given in Mr. Longueville Jones' list of British remains, and described as "thrown down, on a hill near a farm called Bryn-y-felin, half a mile S.E. of Llanfair-Mathafern church." Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. i. p. 25. Angharad Llwyd also notices a cromlech at Manan Pant-y-Saer (part of Rhôs Vawr), and observes that "formerly there was one at Llech-tal-y-Môn, but that is now destroyed." Hist. Anglesey, p. 253.

It has been recently described and figured by the Rev. Hugh Prichard, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xiv. p. 89.

10. Cremlyn, Llanddona par. (E).

Rowlands, Mona, p. 47, mentions a place called Cremlyn, where were stone monuments and a standing cromlech near them, "as if it had been one of their *Cromlegnau* or sacrificing groves, showing tokens of some extraordinary celebration of that place." This cromlech is noticed by David Thomas; Cambr. Reg., ii. p. 289: Angh. Llwyd, Hist. Anglesey, p. 222. Situated 3½ miles N.W. of Beaumaris, and near Bwrdd Arthur.

11. Trefor, or Trevawr, Llansadwrn par. (E).

David Thomas, in his list of cromlechau, mentions one at "Trefor." Cambr. Reg. for 1796, vol. ii. p. 288. In Gough's additions to Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. p. 201, it is stated that there is at this place "a great rude cromlech, and ruins of another." The Rev. J. Lloyd noticed them also in his MS. collections, published by his daughter Angharad, in her History of Mona, p. 297. "On a tenement called Trevawr in this parish (Llansadwrn) there are two cromlechau; one is a large stone mounted high upon four pillars, its inclination westward; in length it is 9 ft. and 8 ft. in breadth. Near it, and upon the same carnedd, is another, supported only by two stones, with great inclination northward." (This cromlech fell down in 1825. Note, *ibid.*) Angharad, in the account of the great cromlech at Plas Newydd, p. 243, observes that "another double cromlech, not less extraordinary, is near a house called Trevor, about 2½ miles from Beaumaris, in the road to Plasgwyn. The only material difference between this cromlech and the former is that the second or inferior altar is placed a little further off from its lower end, and that its top is somewhat gibbous," so that, as in the "Giant's Coit," in Cornwall, it is very difficult to stand upon it. Mr. Longueville Jones states that the Trefor cromlech was thrown down a few years since by the tenant, as being "superstitious." Arch. Cambr. N. S., vol. v. p. 205. See also his Memoir on Cromlechs Extant in Anglesey, Arch. Journ., vol. iii. p. 43.

12. Henblas, Llangristiolus par. (W).

On the N.W. side of Malldraeth Marsh, and not far from the Mona Inn. Described in 1846 by the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones, in his Memoir on the Cromlechs Extant in Anglesey, Arch. Journ., vol. iii. p. 40, and there affirmed to be "one of the most stupendous cromlechs, if it be a cromlech, in this or any other island." It was approached, as there stated, by an avenue of stones from the S.E., which, as Mr. Jones was informed in 1846, by the man who did it, were buried by him just as they stood, in order to disencumber the surface. See also his list of Cromlechs in Mona, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. i. p. 25. It has been more fully noticed by the Rev. Hugh Prichard, in a memoir in Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xii. p. 466, with a plan and a view of the remains. See Angh. Llwyd, Hist. Anglesey, p. 281.

13. Plas-bach, Trefdraeth par. (W).

A few stones of a cromlech remain near this place.

14. Llanfaelog par. (W).

The late Rev. H. Longueville Jones, in his Memoir on Cromlechs Extant in Anglesey, Arch. Journ., vol. iii. p. 42, describes this as a remarkably fine relic of its class; he gives a representation and detailed measurements. See also Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. x. p. 44. The cap-stone measures 12 ft. by 9 ft., and from 2 to 3 ft. in thickness. It was noticed by Pennant as "quite bedded in the carnedd or heap of stones." Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 238; Angh. Llwyd, Hist. Anglesey, p. 248. By its side, as stated by Mr. Jones, lie the fallen remains of a much larger cromlech, the cap-stone measuring 15 ft. in length. He observes also that another, quite surrounded with stones and earth, had been found in Llanfaelog parish by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne. Mr. David

Thomas enumerates one on Ty Newydd land, a second, partly demolished, on Mynydd y Cnwc, in Llanfaelog, and "three small altars near Cryghyll River," Cambr. Reg., vol. ii. p. 288.

15. Llanfaelog par. (w).

Cromlech on a projecting piece of land called Pen y Cnwc, overhanging the sea, two miles south of Llanfaelog church. Early British Remains in Wales, Mona, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. iii. p. 25. See also Arch. Camb., third series, vol. xv. p. 103, where it is described under the heading of Barclodiad y Gawres. Mr. Longueville Jones mentions also in that list a cromlech in a field near the sandy common, one mile N.N.W. of Llanfaelog church, and two (one fallen down) in a field by the roadside, one mile N.N.E. of the church.

16. Llanfaelog par. (w).

"Three small altars near Cryghyll river," are enumerated in the list given by David Thomas; Cambr. Reg., vol. ii. p. 288. Of these one may be the cromlech described by the Rev. Hugh Prichard in his Memoir on Copper Cakes, &c., Castellor, as being west of a farmhouse called Pentre-Traeth; Arch. Cambr., fourth series, vol. ii. p. 51. Mr. Prichard observes that it is given in the Ordnance Survey as a cromlech, but it may be described as a scattered tumulus or carnedd, with its chamber, or chambers, laid open or destroyed. A woodcut of a large fragment there is figured, p. 66.

17. Llanfaelog (w).

One partly demolished on Mynydd y Cnwc, [probably the same cromlech as that above noticed, No. 15.]

18. Towyntrewyn, Llanfihangel-yn-nhywyn (*al.* yn y-traeth) par. (w).

Near this place there exists a cromlech, according to David Thomas's list, Cambr. Reg., vol. ii. p. 289; mentioned also by Angh. Llwyd, Hist. Anglesey, p. 265. [Probably the same as the Pentre-Traeth cromlech last mentioned. W. Wynn Williams.]

19. Llechylched par. (w).

Fragments of a cromlech on a farm called Waenfynydd. Two stones remain; the cap-stone was broken up some years ago. Rev. Hugh Prichard, Memoir on Castellor, &c., Arch. Cambr., fourth series, vol. ii. p. 53.

20. Treban, Coirchiog par. (w).

In a field on the north side of the great Irish road, ten miles from Holyhead, and one mile N.E. of the church. Mr. Longueville Jones' List, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. i. p. 25. [Destroyed.]

21. Presaddfed, Bodedern par. (w).

A remarkable double cromlech at the south end of Llyn Llywean, in the grounds of the Marquis of Anglesey's house at Presaddfed. It is situated opposite the ninth mile-stone on the old road from Holyhead. In Gough's additions to Camden, Brit. vol. iii. p. 204, it is observed that the dimensions of the top stone exceed those of the great cromlech at Plas Newydd; as in that example, its largest diameter points north and south. The late Rev. H. L. Jones has given a representation in Arch.

Journ., vol. iii. p. 43, showing that one is of unusual dimensions, affording a shelter of at least 12 ft. square, and the cattle take refuge beneath. Close to it is the wreck of a second, that has fallen down. Angh. Llwyd, Hist. Angles., p. 243; List of British Remains, Mona, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. i. p. 25. An appeal in behalf of its preservation is given Arch. Cambr. fourth series, vol. ii. p. 283.

22. Trefigneth, Trevignedd, or Treseiriol (w).

About a mile and half from Holyhead. Partly destroyed about 1790. A chamber 20 ft. by 4 ft.; 4 ft. high, inside. First noticed by Aubrey, in his Monumenta Britannica; see additions to Camden's Britannia, edit. Gibson, vol. ii. p. 811; Angh. Llwyd, Hist. of Mona, p. 208; notice by Hon. W. O. Stanley, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xiii. p. 234, where it is figured.

23. Trearddur (w).

A cromlech called Coetan Arthur, Arthur's quoit; about a quarter of a mile from the last. In 1837 a fictile vase was found there, containing Roman coins; Angh. Llwyd, p. 208; Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xiii. p. 234. A few stones only remain.

24. Rhoscolyn par. (w).

A few stones remain. The site is on a farm called Cromlech Rhoscolyn. The Rev. H. L. Jones, in his List of Cromlechau in Mona, mentions one in a field on the sea-coast, a mile N.W. of Rhoscolyn church.

25. Llanfechell par. (x).

About a mile W. of the church, 6 miles from Amlwch, in a field adjoining a farm-house, that retains the name of "Cromlech," are three erect stones, 10 ft. in height, 12 ft. apart from each other, the remains as stated, of a cromlech of unusually lofty proportions. Mr. Longueville Jones, in his list of Early British Remains in Mona, in 1855, notices it as a cromlech thrown down and partly injured of late, with traces of a carnedd of stones surrounding it. Arch. Cambr. third series, vol. i. p. 24. Angharad Llwyd also describes it: Hist. of Anglesey, p. 259. The capstone has disappeared.

26. Bodafon, Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd par. (x).

On the western slope of the mountain there is a small cromlech, near a cottage called Ty'n Llidiart, described and figured by the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, Arch. Camb. third series, vol. xiii. p. 344. David Thomas, in his list of Cromlechau in Anglesey, Cambr. Reg., vol. ii. p. 288, mentions three cromlechau on this mountain. Angharad Llwyd, Hist. of Mona, p. 263, notices the following:—Maen Llwydd, capstone 10 ft. by 8 ft.—a small cromlech, nearly destroyed, near the last, at Banas (*sic*, for Barras)—and Carreg y Vrân, described as originally a double cromlech, resembling that at Plas Newydd, and stated to be the best example in Anglesey.

The Rev. W. Wynn Williams, however, points out the error here made by Angharad, whose notices were derived from the MSS. collections by her father, the Rev. John Lloyd (Caerwys MSS.) The parish of Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd has doubtless been confounded with the township of Tre'r Beirdd, in the parish of Llanidân, where are situated the cromlechs known as Maen Llwyd, Barras, and Carreg-y-Vrân, as described by

Rowlands, Mona Antiqua, p. 93. In plate VI. he gives rude representations of Maen Llwyd, and Carreg y Fran. Rowlands mentions also remains of a small cromlech near Carreg y Frân, at a place called Barras. [It is not now in existence, W.W.W.]

27. Lligwy, Penrhos Lligwy par. (N).

A remarkable example, called also Coetan Arthur, adjoining the road from Red Wharf to Lligwy Bay, and on the estates of Lord Boston. Cap-stone of massive dimensions, 16 ft. by 13 ft. and 3 ft. 6 in. thick. Lewis, Topogr. Dict. of Wales: Angh. Llwyd, p. 341: Memoir by Rev. W. Wynn Williams, in 1867, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. xiii. p. 135, where a N.E. and a S.E. view are given, with a plan. In 1845, as related by the late Rev. Hugh Jones, D.D. diggings for treasure at Lligwy exposed to view a quantity of bones, but their nature has not been stated, Arch. Journ., vol. ii. p. 269.

28. Parkian, Penrhos Lligwy par. (N).

Near Fedw isaf. Angh. Llwyd, p. 341. [Destroyed].

29. Llanallgo par. (N).

David Thomas mentions a cromlech in the small parish of Llanallgo, adjoining Llaneugrad, Cambr. Reg. vol. ii. p. 289. It is noticed also by Angh. Llwyd, Hist. Anglesey, p. 215. In Mr. Longueville Jones' List, a cromlech of large dimensions is noticed, in the grounds of Llugwy, a quarter of a mile west of Llanallgo church., Arch. Camb., third series, vol. i. p. 25.

It has been thought sufficient as an indication of the position of the several remains enumerated in the foregoing list, to state the parish, and the part of the island, south, north, east or west, in which each cromlech is situated.



Fig. 8.—Entrance of the chambered barrow, Rodmorton.

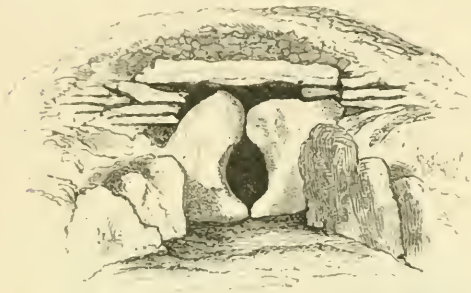


Fig. 10.—Entrance of the chambered barrow, Avening.



Fig. 9.—Entrance, chambered barrow, Uley.

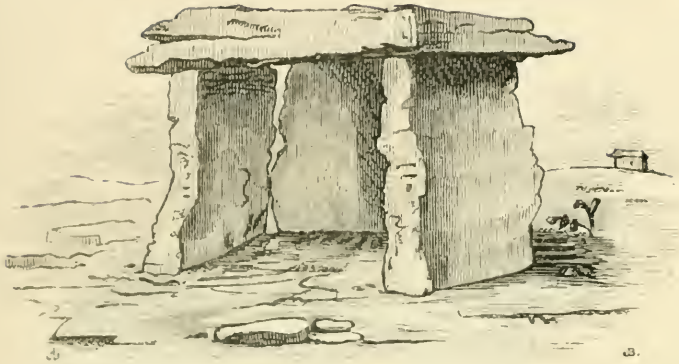


Fig. 11.—Cell formed of four slabs.

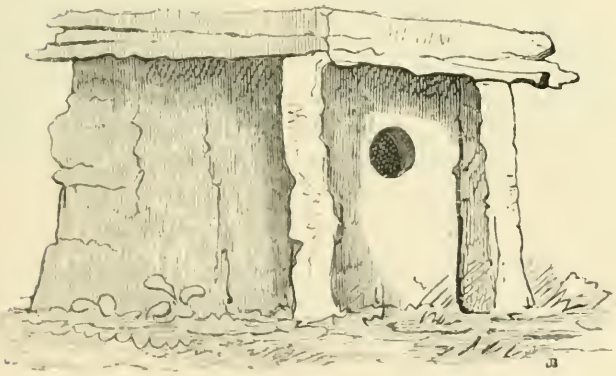


Fig. 12.—Kistvaen with a circular aperture.

"Moori Mouni," Megalithic monuments, Shirapoor, in the Dekhan, India.
From representations given by Col. Meadows Taylor.





Fig. 14.—Kits Coty-House, Kent.

Dimensions of the Cap-stone, 12 ft. by 9¼; 2½ thick. Height, about 8 ft.
From a drawing by Col. Forbes Leslie.

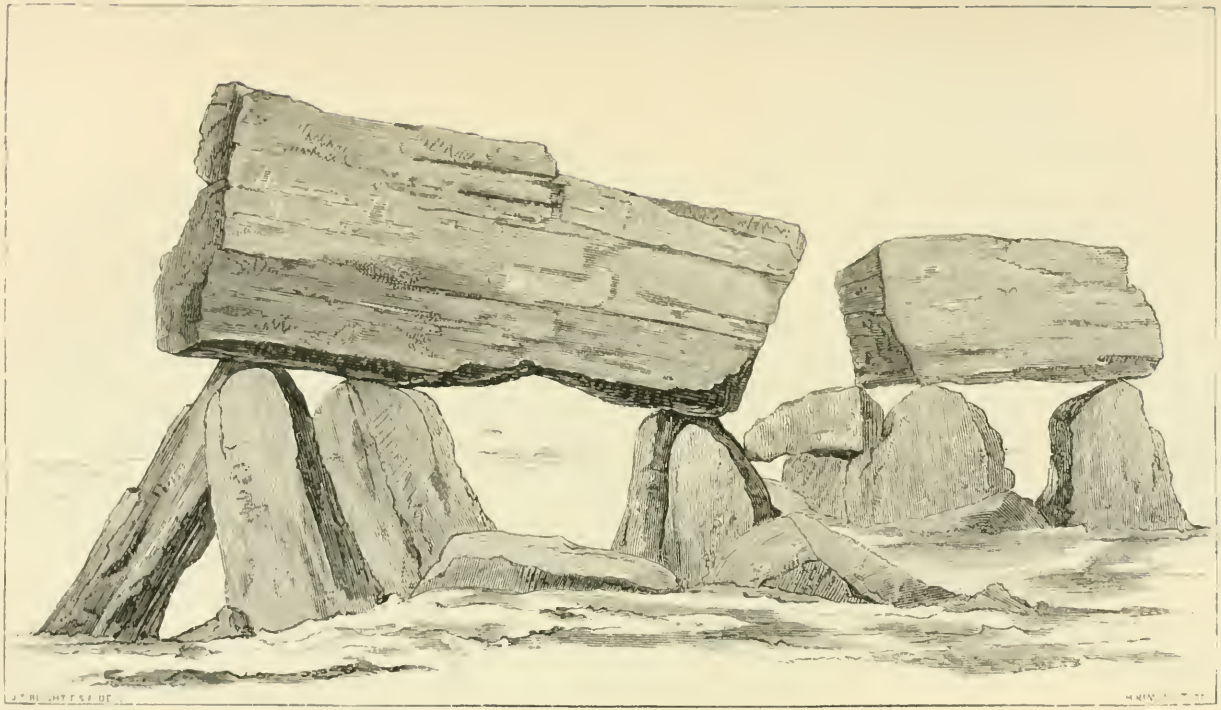


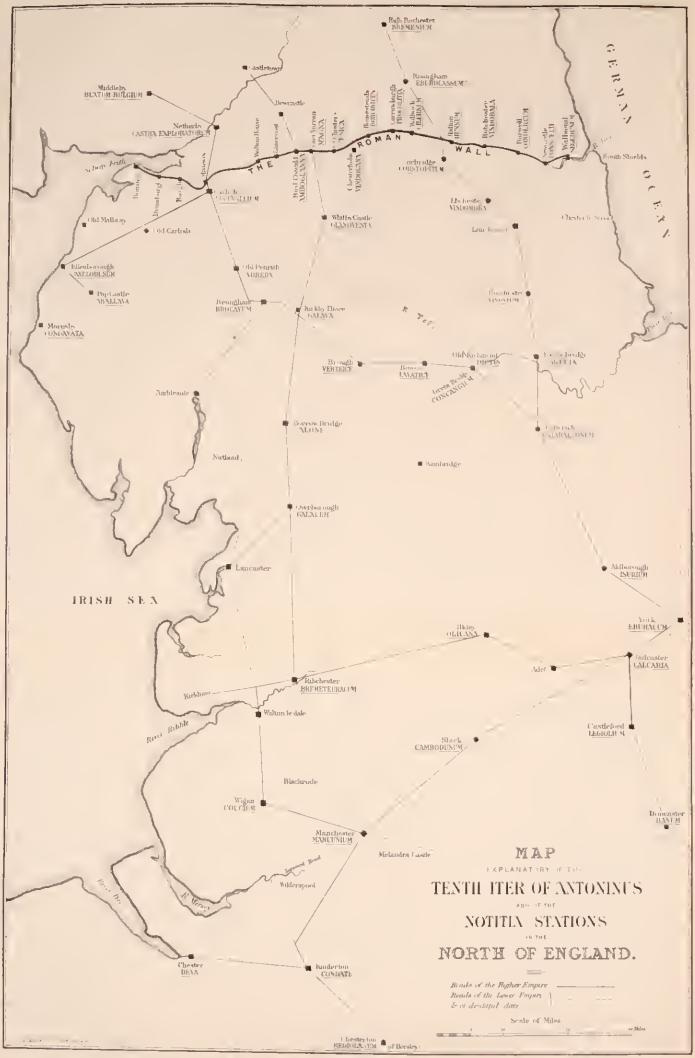
Fig. 16.—N.N.W. View of the Cromlech at Plas Newydd, Anglesey.
From a drawing by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., F.S.A.



Fig. 17.—S.S.E. view of the Cromlech at Plas Newydd, Anglesey.
From a drawing by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., F.S.A.



Fig. 18.—Cromlech at Trefigneth, near Holyhead. Length 20 ft.; height inside 4 ft.; breadth 4 ft.
From a drawing by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., F.S.A.


Rigodunum
RIGODUNUM
Castlesteads
Brougham
BRUCOBARIS
Middleby
BLATUM BULGIUM
Newcastle
Netherby
CASTRA EXPLORATORUM
THE ROMAN WALL
Ribchester
BREMETENACUM
Burrow Walls
Overborough
GALACUM
Lancaster
IRISH SEA
Ilkley
OLICANA
York
EBURACUM
Aldborough
ISURIUM
Adel
Tadcaster
CALCARIA
Castleford
LEGOLIUM
Walton le dale
Blackrode
Wigan
COCCIUM
Manchester
MANCUNIUM
Melandra Castle
Doncaster
DANUM
Chester
DEVA
Manchester
CONDATE
MAP
EXPLANATORY OF THE
TENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS
AND OF THE
NOTITIA STATIONS
OF THE
NORTH OF ENGLAND.
Roads of the Higher Empire
Roads of the Lower Empire
& of doubtful date
Scale of Miles
Manchester
Liverpool

ON THE TENTH ITER OF THE BRITISH PORTION OF THE ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS AND SOME OF THE NOTITIA STATIONS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Amongst the many unsolved questions relating to the period of the Roman sway in Britain, none has caused greater discussion, or produced greater variety of opinion, than the route of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Camden, Gale, and Horsley, and more recently Dr. Bruce, Messrs. Hodgson Hinde, and Just, and the Rev. J. C. Maughan have grappled with the subject, but the solution has seemed as far off as ever. After having for some years given the deepest attention to this archæological puzzle, I have ventured to lay before the antiquarian world the following remarks, in the hope that if not actually giving a solution to the question, they will at least tend to that result. With regard to my observations upon the *Notitia* stations, it will be seen that they are virtually necessitated, as a corollary to those on the Itinerary.

A frequent reference being required to the First and Second Iters of Antoninus, I must here introduce them with the Tenth,[1] as well as a portion of the *Notitia* for the same purpose.

Iter I.

A Limite, id est, a Vallo, Prætorium, usque Mill Pass, Centum quinquaginta et sex, CLVI.

A Bremenio . .	(*High Rochester*) Mill Pass	
Corstopitum .	(*Corchester*) viginti . . .	XX
Vindomora . .	(*Ebchester*) novem	IX

[1] The distances in these iters are given according to the last edition of the Itinerary, by Parthey and Pinder, Berlin, 1848, which contains many important corrections.

Vinovium	(*Binchester*) novemdecim	XIX
Cataractoni	(*Catterick*) viginti duo	XXII
Isurium	(*Aldborough*) viginti quatuor	XXIV
Eburacum	(*York*) septendecim	XVII
Leg VI. victrix		
Derventione	septem	VII
Delgovitia	tredecim	XIII
Praetorio	viginti quinque	XXV

ITER II.

A Vallo, ad Portum Ritupis, Mil Pas, quadringenta octoginta et unum, CCCCLXXXI.

A Blato Bulgio	(*Middleby*) Mil Pas	
Castra Exploratorum	(*Netherby*) duodecim	XII
Luguvallio	(*Carlisle*) duodecim	XII
Voreda	(*Old Penrith*) quatuordecim	XIV
Brovonacis	(*Brougham*) tredecim	XIII
Verteris	(*Brough*) tredecim	XIII
Lavatris	(*Bowes*) quatuordecim	XIV
Cataractone	(*Catterick*) sexdecim	XVI

This Iter then pursues the same route as the first to York, and thence to Richborough, in Kent.

The fifth iter of Antoninus takes the same route *from* York *to* Carlisle—but makes this difference in the names and distances—beyond Brough :—

A Verteris	(*Brough*) Mil Pas	
Brocavo	(*Brougham ?*) viginti	XX
Luguvallio	(*Carlisle*) viginti duo	XXII

ITER X.

A Glanoventa, Mediolanum, Mil Pas, Centum et quinquaginta, CL.

Galava	octodecim	XVIII
Alone	duodecim	XII
Galacum	novendecim	XIX
Bremetonacis	viginti et septem	XXVII
Coccio	viginti	XX
Manconio (*Manchester*)	septendecim	XVII
Condate (*Kinderton*)	octodecim	XVIII
Mediolano	novendecim	XVIIII

NOTITIA IMPERII.

Sectio LXIII.

Sub Dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum.

Præfectus Legionis Sextæ.
„ Equitum Dalmatarum, Præsidio.
„ Equitum Crispaniorum, Dano.
„ Equitum Cataphractariorum, Morbio.
„ Numeri Barcariorum Tigrisiensium, Arbeia.
„ Numeri Nerviorum Dictensium, Dicti.
„ Numeri Vigilium, Concangio.
„ Numeri Exploratorum, Lavatris.
„ Numeri Directorum, Verteris.
„ Numeri Defensorum, Braboniaco.
„ Numeri Solensium, Maglove.
„ Numeri Pacensium, Magis.
„ Numeri Longovicariorum, Longovico.
„ Numeri Derventionensis, Derventione.

Item per Lineam Valli.

Tribunus Cohortis quartæ Lergorum, Segeduno.
„ Cohortis Cornaviorum, Ponte Ælii.
Præfectus Alæ primæ Astorum, Conderco.
Tribunus Cohortis primæ Frixagorum, Vindobala.
Præfectus Alæ Sabinianæ, Hunno.
„ Alæ secundæ Astorum, Cilurno.
Tribunus Cohortis primæ Batavorum, Procolitia.
„ Cohortis primæ Tungrorum, Borcovico.
„ Cohortis quartæ Gallorum, Vindolana.
„ Cohortis primæ Astorum, Æsica.
„ Cohortis secundæ Dalmatarum, Magnis.
„ Cohortis primæ Æliæ Dacorum, Amboglanna.
Præfectus Alæ Petrianæ, Petrianis.
„ Numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum, Aballaba.
Tribunus Cohortis secundæ Lergorum, Congavata.
„ Cohortis primæ Hispanorum, Axeloduno.
„ Cohortis secundæ Thracum, Gabrosenti.
„ Cohortis Æliæ Classicæ, Tunnocelo.
„ Cohortis primæ Morinorum, Glannibanta.
„ Cohortis tertiæ Nerviorum, Alione.
Cuneus Armaturarum, Bremetennaco.
Præfectus Alæ primæ Herculæ, Olenaco.
Tribunus Cohortis sextæ Nerviorum, Virosido.

I should premise that, with the exception of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first stations, *per lineam valli*, none of those named in the *Notitia* are connected with the

tenth Iter of Antoninus. These three, *Glannibanta, Alio,* (or *Alionis*) and *Bremetenracum,* are considered by some antiquaries as the *Glanoventa, Alone,* and *Bremetonacæ* of Antonine. In this I am disposed to concur ; for that there were *more* than eighteen stations *on* the wall is not only improbable, but by an examination of its remains seems impossible. We also find that the *Broronacæ* of the second iter is called in the *Notitia, Braboniacum.* There is no greater difference in this than between *Bremetonacæ* and *Bremetenracum.*

It appears to me that the first great point to be ascertained is, the *exact date* of the Itinerary, for the following reason :—We find in the northern counties of England (as well as elsewhere) two classes of Roman roads, those of the Higher Empire, most of which were made at or before the time when Hadrian built the great barrier *Murus,* and those of later periods, even to the decline of the Lower Empire. The question arises, were any of the latter included in the iters ? This can only be decided by knowing the date of the Itinerary itself.[2]

There were four emperors who bore the name of Antoninus, namely, Antoninus Pius, who reigned A.D. 138—161 ; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 161—180 ; Bassianus, the son of Septimius Severus, better known as Caracalla, who took the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which are found upon all his coins and inscriptions, A.D. 212—217 ; and Elagabalus, who took the same names as Caracalla, A.D. 218—222. I am of opinion that the emperor whose name was given to the Itinerary was the first-named, Antoninus Pius, and that it was compiled at *the commencement* of his reign. From an inscription by the first cohort of the Cugerni, found in Scotland, we have satisfactory evidence that the great barrier between the rivers Forth and Clyde, called the Antonine Wall, was erected in the third consulship of Antoninus, or between A.D. 140—144 ; probably in the first-mentioned year. From that period, therefore, *this wall* would be considered as *the limit* or boundary of the

[2] Messrs. Parthey and Pinder, in the preface to their edition of the Itinerary, p. v.—ix., seem to assign a later date for its compilation than I have done; or at least they come to the conclusion that it has been altered from time to time. They seem also to think that Severus was the builder of the Northumbrian Wall; but recent discoveries make it almost certain that that work was erected by Hadrian.

Roman empire in Britain. But the internal evidence of the Itinerary itself, proves distinctly that the station at Middleby (*Blatum Bulgium*), on the western road, and that at High Rochester (*Bremenium*), on the eastern, were at the time it was compiled *the limit* to which the Roman power was confined.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the date of the Itinerary is between A.D. 138, the year in which Hadrian (the predecessor of Antoninus Pius) died, and A.D. 144, the year in which the latter completed his third consulship.

It is worthy of notice how inscriptions confirm the fact of the boundary of the Roman empire at the death of Hadrian; for while inscriptions to him have been found along the whole length of the Northumbrian wall, and even at Middleby, not one has been found to the north of that station.[3] On the other hand, at least twenty-two to his successor have been found in Scotland. In fact, from a fine inscription found at *Bremenium*, dedicated to Antoninus Pius, by the first cohort of the Lingones,[4] the inference may be fairly drawn that that station was not completed at the time of the death of Hadrian, but was taken in hand by Lollius Urbicus (whose name appears on the slab), and that he made it his base of operations against the Caledonians, prior to erecting the Scotch wall.

Assuming, therefore, upon this basis, that the date of the Itinerary is previous to A.D. 144, we must be careful to reject such Roman roads, as are evidently of a late period of the Empire, from our remarks. The next point to be considered is,—have we any town on the route to afford a clue as to the locality of the iter? There is one—*Mancunium*, satisfactorily proved, from other sources, to have been at Manchester. It is from *this point*, then, that we are obliged to start. Several Roman roads meet there, the stations on which, with their distances, are all well known, except on those which lead north and north-west from that city, and we are thus, as it were, thrown upon these last for the solution. If we take the road running almost due north, and follow its course until we come to the first

[3] A pig of lead inscribed to Hadrian was found near the Scotch Wall in 1850 (on the bank of the river Carron); but this had doubtless been carried there by the builders of that work. No lapidiary inscriptions have been found.

[4] It appears to have been one of the slabs placed over the gateways when the *castrum* was erected.

station, it will lead us to Ribchester, which is at least twenty-six or twenty-seven miles from Manchester, and the distance that we require to reach *Coccium* is only *seventeen*. Ribchester, therefore, *cannot* be the site of *Coccium*, as many antiquaries have supposed; and, in addition, the road from Manchester to that place, according to the Rev. Edmund Sibson, in an interesting paper on the Roman roads in Lancashire (Baines, History of Lancashire, edit. 1836, vol. iii.), "in the bleak, mossy ground, between Ug Lowe and Pik Lowe, above Haslingden Grange, is found in the peat moss, four feet beneath the surface, and is *only a layer of white sand, about a foot thick, spread over the soft boggy earth.*" A road so constructed, doubtless marks a late period of the Empire, and is far different from the fine roads constructed before the middle of the third century. It would seem to have been made with a view of connecting Manchester and Ribchester by a shorter route than the one *previously in use* viâ Wigan.

Let us now, with the assistance of the ordnance maps of the district, and of Mr. Sibson's remarks, trace the roads leading north-west from Manchester. The first is an originally fine road, though now much obliterated, running by Chorlton Fold (where it crosses the Patricroft and Clifton Junction Railway) through Worsley,[5] Mawdesley Common, Tyldesley, and Hindley. This portion of it is formed of large stones and gravel, and is of considerable thickness; it then crosses Amberswood Common, where it is fourteen yards in breadth, and three feet in thickness, and at this point appears to be formed of gravel mixed with earth. It then runs through the Coal Pit Fields at Ince, crosses the Leeds and Liverpool Canal near the foot bridge, and into the Scholes; then, on the west side of the road, from the Scholes to Plat Bridge, crosses the Douglas at the bottom of the bridge, and enters Wigan by Mill Gate.

Three important Roman roads meet at Wigan—one coming south from Ribchester and the neighbourhood of Preston; another coming north from the station at Wilderspool near Warrington; and the third is the one above described. The town stands on the summit of a hill, and, by the names

[5] This road was subsequently (1862) laid bare at Worsley, in making the railway from Eccles to Wigan. (See Gent. Mag., April, 1862, p. 419.)

of the streets, appears to have had four gates (in the Roman manner)—Wall Gate, on the road to Wilderspool; Mill Gate, on the road leading east, towards Manchester; Standish Gate, on the road to Ribchester and Preston; and Hall Gate, on the west. In 1836, according to Mr. Sibson, the remains of a ditch and agger were still visible round the town; Roman sepulchral urns, containing burnt bones, &c., have occasionally been found, and many fragments of Roman pottery. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt of its having been a Roman station—not an important one, I admit; but was *Coccium* an important post? The Tenth Iter of Antoninus is the only place in which we find it mentioned; whilst *Bremetonacae*, the station next in succession to the north, is mentioned in the *Notitia*, and also by Ravennas, as *Bresnetenaci Veteranorum*; Manchester, the station to the south of it, is also mentioned by Ravennas, and occurs likewise in the second Iter of Antoninus. *Coccium* was in all probability a mere *mansio*, of the same class as *Sulloniacæ*, between London and St. Albans; *Pontes*, between London and Silchester; or *Brige*, between Winchester and Old Sarum. Its remains would soon disappear in the large and busy town that for centuries has occupied its site, in the same manner that the great station of *Pons Ælii* (the remains of which must have been very extensive) has disappeared under the effects of mediæval devastation and modern building at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The distance of Wigan from Manchester, along the Roman road I have described, is almost exactly *seventeen miles*, thus agreeing with the Itinerary distance between *Coccium* and *Mancunium*. Mr. Sibson places the former station at Wigan, and, for the reasons stated above, I feel bound to concur in his decision.

It is but just to state that there is another Roman road which leads from Blackrode, four or five miles north-east of Wigan, towards Manchester. In the vicinity of Blackrode, however, it is, according to Mr. Sibson, only three yards broad, and paved. It has not been satisfactorily traced farther north than Blackrode, but there does not seem to have been a station at that place, unless it were a small outpost—not a vestige is visible. By the ordnance map this road ran south-east from Blackrode, by Chew Moor, Over Hulton, Middle Hulton, Peel, Little Hulton, Stanney

Street, and fell in with the road from Wigan near Chorlton Fold or Hope Hall.

But to return to Wigan. The road leading north from it runs through Wigan Mains, to a place called Beggars' Walk, beyond which, about two miles from Wigan, it is in good preservation, and is formed of blocks of yellow-coloured freestone and gravel, about fourteen yards broad and three feet thick. In this locality it forms the cart-road to Standish, through which village it runs. Early in the eighteenth century, a copper *urceolus* (?) was found near Standish, containing two gold rings, a signet, and two hundred Roman coins, which are mentioned in *Leigh's Natural History of Lancashire*. After leaving Standish, this road passes through Welsh Whithill, Euxton Burgh, Rose Whithill, and Bamber Green to Walton,[6] where it crosses the Ribble about six miles west of Ribchester, and falls at right angles upon the Roman road, leading from the Fylde to that place, which is continued into Yorkshire. At this point of junction *the original road* seems to terminate, though at a later period it was continued, as we shall presently see, northwards to Lancaster; from the junction it is amalgamated with the road from the west into Ribchester.

We have now arrived at the greatest of the Lancashire stations, the remains of which have for centuries been celebrated, and are still traceable. It is about 300 yards by 140, contains ten acres, and its distance from Wigan, by the route we have just mentioned, is from *twenty* to *twenty-one* miles. This of itself would be strong presumptive evidence that it was the *Bremetonacæ* of the Iter; but we have fortunately still stronger proof. The station has yielded many inscriptions, some thirteen of which have been preserved, and among them is one of which the following is a copy:—

DEOSAN
. POLINIMAPON
. OSALVTE . DN
. N . EQQ . SAR .
BREMETENN
. ORDIANI

[6] It was here, that in 1855 Mr. Hardwick found vestiges of a small Roman post, coins, pottery, and traces of entrenchments. Underneath the latter he found the portion of an old wall, evidently of an earlier date, and probably British. It had no mortar.

. OANTONI
NVS . LEG . VI
VIC . DOMO
MELITENVS

Although some parts of this inscription have been the subject of much discussion, all antiquaries are agreed as to the Sarmatian cavalry of *Bremetenracum* (or *Bremetonacæ*) having had a share in its erection; in fact no doubt can exist on the point. This being admitted, we must then, on the same principle as that by which, from inscriptions, we place *Bremenium* at High Rochester, *Ratis* at Leicester, *Vinovium* at Binchester, and *Lutudæ* at Chesterfield, place the *Bremetonacæ* of Antoninus at Ribchester. Again; to still further prove the correctness of this view,[7] we must notice that no less than four inscriptions have been found there which mention this Sarmatian cavalry; in three of them called *Ala Sarmatarum*, and in the one we have given, apparently N(umerus) Eq(uitum) Sarmatarum, whilst the *Notitia* places at *Bremetenracum* the CUNEUS *Armaturarum*. Is not this a mis-reading of *Cuneus Sarmatarum*?[8] Several notorious mistakes, such as *Lergorum* (in two instances) for *Lingonum*, and the placing at *Æsica* of *Coh. I. Astorum*, whilst the inscriptions found there prove the garrison to have been the *Coh. II. Asturum*, occur in the *Notitia*, and I incline to the opinion that this is another. In addition to the distance from Wigan agreeing on the one hand, we find that from Overborough also agreeing on the other: but I anticipate.

Galacum, the next station on the route, was, according to the iter, twenty-seven miles from *Bremetonacæ*, and we must therefore look for a station which will suit this distance. If we leave Ribchester by the road leading almost due north,[9] at a distance of twenty-six miles we come to Overborough, where there have been discovered undoubted traces of a Roman station. In the time of Horsley the remains of it must have been considerable; but in 1740 (nine years after

[7] Mr. Hodgson Hinde, *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv., was the first who suggested that Ribchester was *Bremetonacæ*.

[8] Dr. McCaul (Brit. Rom. Inscr. p. 81) states that the reading of at least five MSS. of the *Notitia* is *armaturum*, and that the application of *cuneus* to cavalry is more consistent with the usage in the *Notitia*.

[9] Whitaker states that this road is decidedly of the Higher Empire.

his death), a modern mansion was built upon part of the site, which occasioned the levelling of its ramparts on the north and west sides, whilst the area was laid out as a garden. Notwithstanding this, the ramparts on the east and south sides were still visible in 1807. This station is situated in the position usually chosen by the Roman engineers, at the junction of two rivers,—the Lac, which washes its southern, and the Lune or Lone which runs on its western side.

During the excavations required for the foundation of the mansion in 1740, there was found an altar bearing the following inscription :—

DEO SAN
GON TR
EBIVAT
TAPOSV

Dr. Pegge read this as "Deo Sango N(umerius) Trebiv(s) Atta Posv(it)." Whitaker, in his History of Richmondshire, gives the reading, "Deo Sango N(aulus) Trebiv(s) Atta pos(uit) v(otum)." On the reverse side of the altar were sculptured an axe and knife, and the figure of an owl. The original is now lost; but from the account of Rauthmel, who first published it in his Antiquities of Overborough, it would appear, from the form of the letters, to have been of the Lower Empire. At the same time were found a gold bulla, a large brass coin of Vespasian, a common patera, and a præfericulum.

With few exceptions, English antiquaries, following the lead of Horsley, have, until lately, placed *Bremetonacæ* at this station. The time, however, seems to have arrived when that decision must be laid aside, and the name of *Galacum* (or *Calacum*) substituted for that of *Bremetonacæ*.[1] The *Galatum* of Ptolemy, evidently a British town, must be sought for in this locality; it was doubtless the same as *Galacum*. The British remains in this neighbourhood are very extensive. The peculiar name of the river at Overborough is suggestive—the *Lac*,—as if part of the word *Galacum* were still retained in it, as we find the river Laver at the ancient *Lavara* or *Lavatræ* (Bowes).

[1] Mr. Just, Journal of British Arch. Association, vol. viii 1852, places *Galacum* here, but strangely fixes upon Lancaster for *Bremetonacæ*.

That this station existed in the reign of Antoninus Pius seems certain, from the fine road which connects it with Lancaster, on which, at Caton, about four or five miles from the latter town, was found a *miliarium* or milestone of the time of Hadrian in good preservation, dated in his 3rd consulate, A.D. 120. The inscription is thus given in the plate in Whitaker's History of Richmondshire:—

IMP . CAES
TR . HADRIA
AVG.P.M.T.P
COS.III.P.P.
>I.M.P.III.

This road apparently runs no farther eastward than Overborough, where it joins that running northwards.

Let us at this point consider, for a moment, how far the great station at Lancaster can in any way be connected with our subject. And I will first say that, from the ancient name of this town (called Chercaloncastre in Domesday Book), from the name of the river,—

"The shallow, stony Lone,
That to old Lancaster its name doth lend;"

from the fact, also, of the hundred in which it is situated bearing the name of Lonsdale, combined with the peculiar name of a deity on an altar found near the town IALONVS, I was at one time inclined to place *Alone* at this station, in which case I should have considered Natland to be *Galava*, and the large station at Ambleside, *Glanoventa*. But the distances will not suit; and the only road which seems to have led from Lancaster during the Higher Empire is the one of which I have just spoken, running north-east to Overborough. The road connecting it with Natland is a continuation of the one I previously alluded to as starting from Walton, near Ribchester, and which runs over Fulwood Moor, Cadley Causeway, through Broughton, Barton, and Bilsborough, along Fleet Street in Claughton, and through what is called the *Borough*, a few miles south of Lancaster. Two miliaries, inscribed to the Emperor Philip, A.D. 244—249, have been found on this route, a fact which Whitaker thinks seems to prove (and in this I concur) that the road

was made in the reign of that Emperor. Whitaker states, that a person who saw a portion of it dug up in the Fylde, informed him that it was constructed like a common highway, with small broken stones compacted by time and pressure. At "The Folly," a mile north of Lancaster, Whitaker himself took up a portion of it, which entirely corresponded with this account, and he adds that here it was pointing direct to Natland. This evidence, as to its construction, of course shuts it out from the list of roads of the time of Antoninus Pius.

Altogether eleven inscriptions are recorded as having been found at Lancaster, or within a few miles of it. It appears to have been garrisoned by the Ala II., Gallorum Sebusiana (or Sebosiana), and large foundations of buildings, sculptured figures, quantities of coins, Samian ware, pottery, &c., have been found. We have thus the evidences of a most important station, and of the Higher Empire—what was its name? This must be left in abeyance, for neither roads nor distances will agree with its being *Alone*. If we want to find the site of that *castrum* we must, in my opinion, retrace our steps to Overborough, and again take a northerly course.

The road from Ribchester northwards, after leaving Overborough, is traced along Wandel's Lane, through Casterton near Sedburgh, and up the valley of the Lone, until at about eighteen miles from Overborough we come to the remains of a considerable station, apparently overlooked both by Camden and Horsley. Britton, in his Beauties of England and Wales, was the first who noticed it, and the late Mr. Just, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. viii., was the first who conjectured it to be *Alone*. It is situated at the confluence of the Borrow with the river Lone, about one hundred yards south of Borrowbridge, and bears the name of "Castlehows." In old writings the Borrow is called the *Burough Becke*, evidently from the *castrum* upon its banks. The station is a parallelogram of 135 yards by 104 yards, contains about 4 acres, and has been surrounded by a wall of stone and mortar, about 9 ft. thick, the lower portions of which are apparently standing buried in the rubbish which has fallen from above, except on the western side, where it stands 8 ft. or 9 ft. high, but stripped of its facing-stones. The Practorian and Decuman gates

and the fosse are still very distinct. No inscriptions have been found here, but in 1826 part of a hypocaust was uncovered, and at various times coins and fragments of pottery have been turned up. The area, which lies buried in its own rubbish, has, however, never been excavated. To the north of the station are the remains of the abutment of a bridge across the Borrow, with good reason supposed to be Roman. Part of the grouting of the bridge still adheres to the rock foundation. Mr. Just also says that the Roman road is visible just beyond this bridge, and though lost for a considerable distance, takes the direction of Kirkby Thore.

What has been said of the etymology of the neighbourhood of Lancaster is equally applicable here. The Lone (or Lune) washes the castrum ; the whole valley down to Overborough is called the valley of the Lone, the hundred is called Lonsdale. The distance also, *eighteen* miles, from Overborough agrees remarkably with the iter. *Alone* is there stated to be *nineteen* miles from Galacum. Mr. Just fixes upon this site as that of *Alone*, the evidence is strongly in favour of it, and I must say that I coincide with his opinion.

The only Roman road which has been found to lead from Borrowbridge, and which is apparently of the Higher Empire, is the one before-mentioned, leading to Kirkby Thore. As far as regards the direction this is right, but Kirkby Thore is, according to Mr. Just, *seventeen* Roman miles from Borrowbridge, and we only require *twelve*. It is in this stage that the only real discrepancy occurs, and the only solution that I can suggest is that the numeral v. has been omitted by some early transcriber of the Itinerary, thus rendering the distance as XII. miles instead of XVII. There is no doubt of many such mistakes occurring in the Itinerary. The station at Kirkby Thore is a most important one ; many inscriptions, sculptures, coins, &c., have been discovered. I agree with Mr. Just in placing *Galava* here, but the question arises, why was it omitted in the second iter, between *Verteræ* and *Brovonacæ?* That iter seems most explicit, and apparently gives the name of *every station* along its route (while the fifth, in this neighbourhood, does not). The clue to this would seem to be involved in the question, does the Roman road from *Verteræ* to *Brovonacæ go close* to the station at Kirkby Thore ? It is

more than doubtful. Mr. Just, had he lived another year, intended by an accurate survey to have settled this point. On the other hand, as Mr. Just observes, Kirkby Thore is upon the "Maiden Way," a continuation apparently of the road northwards from Borrowbridge, and which runs by Whitley Castle to Caervorran, on the Northumbrian Wall.

Starting again northwards from Kirkby Thore, along the "Maiden Way," we come to the station at Whitley Castle, the distance being almost identical with that of the Itinerary. The station is a large one, containing nine acres, and it is the first one south of the wall. On its western side it has seven ditches and ramparts, and on the northern side four. This arises from the fact of its being on level ground. It has never been excavated, and is filled with ruins. Several inscriptions have been found, amongst them one to Caracalla in his fourth consulship, A.D. 213, by the third Cohort of the Nervii. As this cohort is placed by the *Notitia* at *Alionis* (or *Alio*), the station has by many antiquaries been given that name, but unless *corroborative facts* can be produced, it is useless to decide on its name from *one* inscription *of this nature*. On the same principle we might place *Vindolana* at the great station at Risingham, whereas it is well known to have been at Chesterholm.

Unless, therefore, we can find a road leading in some other direction from the station at Borrowbridge, I hold the opinion that the Tenth Iter commenced at Whitley Castle, taking the line of the "Maiden Way," and running, as will be seen, almost due south (with the exception of the easterly bend at Wigan) to Manchester. Had *Glanoventa* been north of the Wall it would doubtless have been so stated at the commencement of the iter, in the same manner as *Bremenium* and *Blatum Bulgium* are named at the commencement of the First and Second Iters. The distance also from Manchester would be too great to allow of it, whilst it is certain that neither *Glannibanta* nor any other of the *Notitia* stations were to the north of the Wall.

Having thus traced the iter to its starting point, it is necessary to say a few words on the stations which lie south of Manchester. At eighteen miles from *Mancunium* is placed *Condate*, which until lately has generally been considered to be at Kinderton, near Middlewich, where are the remains of a station, at which roads from Manchester,

Chester, Wilderspool, near Warrington, and Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, meet. The actual distance from Manchester is about twenty-three miles, and from Chester (*Deva*), twenty, which latter agrees with the distance of *Deva* from *Condate* in the Second Iter. Its distance from Chesterton, hitherto considered *Mediolanum*, also agrees well, the actual distance being eighteen or nineteen miles. The remains of a station exist at Chesterton, but it is little known, and quite unexplored.

A modern archæologist, Dr. Robson, in papers read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (December, 1849), and the Archæological Society of Chester (May 4th, 1870), has started the theory that *Condate* was at Wilderspool, and *Mediolanum* at Kinderton. His argument is based upon the fact of the distance between Wilderspool and Manchester, agreeing with that of *Condate* from *Mancunium*, the distance between Wilderspool and Kinderton, with that of *Condate* from *Mediolanum*, and the distance between Wilderspool and Chester, with that of *Condate* from *Deva* in the Second Iter. It will be noticed that with one exception (that of Kinderton from Manchester), there is an equal agreement of distances in the older arrangement. Mr. Robson also pre-supposes the existence of a road from Wilderspool to Manchester, a fact *not yet proved*, though very probable;[2] but if it were of the Higher Empire, we should doubtless have some considerable remains of it existing. Another argument against his decision, arises from the distance of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter) from Kinderton. The Itinerary gives the distance from *Uriconium* to *Mediolanum* as twenty-three miles. Mr. Robson's conclusions would place them (even in a straight line), thirty-five miles apart; whilst, on the other hand, if *Mediolanum* were at Chesterton, the distance from Wroxeter is nearly identical with the Itinerary. Until, therefore, the site of *Mediolanum* is determined, the latter part of the iter must remain a subject of dispute.[3]

Before proceeding to the stations named in the *Notitia*, it is necessary to notice an important fact in the First and Second Iters. In the former between *Bremenium* (High

[2] Baines, Hist. of Lancashire (edit. 1836), vol. i. p. 14, and vol. iii. p. 110, speaks confidently of the existence of the road.

[3] The etymology of Kinderton is strongly in favour of its being *Condate*. The difference between Condate-ton and Kinderton is very slight.

Rochester), and *Corstopitum* (Corbridge), we find the great station at Risingham; between *Vindomora* (Ebchester) and *Vinovium* (Binchester), occurs another large station at Lanchester: and again, between *Vinovium* and *Cataractonium* (Catterick), we find the large station at Pierse Bridge. In the Second Iter, the same thing occurs, the fine castrum at Greta Bridge, intervening between *Cataractonium* and *Lavatræ* (Bowes). None of these castra are named in the Itinerary, and why? My own opinion is that they *were not in existence* when the Itinerary was compiled. Horsley considered Lanchester to be the *Glanoventa* of the Tenth Iter, and the *Glannibanta* of the *Notitia*. The great objection to this is that the fact of *Glanoventa* being the commencement of the Tenth Iter, would not prevent its being given as a station *en route* in the First, *were it situated at Lanchester*. *Calleva* (Silchester) is the starting point of the Fifteenth, and the terminus of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Iters, yet it is nevertheless given as an intermediate station in the Seventh; and the same thing occurs, with regard to *Londinium*, *Eboracum*, *Luguvallium*, and *Isca Silurum*. Why, then, should an exception be made in the case of Lanchester?

Except Pierse Bridge, these unidentified stations have been prolific of inscriptions, but none of them are earlier than the reign of Severus. At Greta Bridge, near the site of the northern gateway, a fine slab was discovered in 1792, which has generally been considered as originally placed over the gateway arch. It was inscribed—

IMPP . CAESS . L . SEP . SEVERO
PIO . PERT . ET . M . AVR . ANTONI
NO . PIO . AVGG . ET
NOB . CAES . SVB . CVRA . L .
ALFENI . SENECIONIS
LEG . EORVM . PR . PR .

The name of Geta has been purposely (though imperfectly) erased from the third line; the remainder informs us (as I take it), of the *first erection* of the gate and *castrum*: had it been merely a restoration or re-building, we should no doubt, as in other cases, have the word *restituit* introduced.[4]

[4] To my mind, the omission of this station, built by Severus, from the second Iter, is another convincing proof that the Antonine, whose name was given to the Itinerary, was Antoninus Pius.

At Risingham, where no less than eleven inscriptions of the reigns of Severus and Caracalla have been found, a gateway slab erected in the reign of the former Emperor, under the same legate, as that at Greta Bridge, informs us of the *restoration* of the *castrum*. Possibly it was built, soon after the Itinerary was compiled, destroyed in the insurrection in the reign of Commodus, and rebuilt by Severus. Dr. McCaul (Br. Rom. Inscr. p. 147) refutes the idea of its bearing the name of *Habitancum*, which Camden and Horsley had given it, from an inscription found there. Had there been a station of that name, it would no doubt have been given in the Chorography of Ravennas. But that author gives the name of a station next to *Bremenium* as *Eburocassum* (probably Eburo-castrum), which name may have been given to it during the residence of Severus at the station, after leaving behind his capital of *Eburacum* (or Eboracum). Mr. J. Hodgson (*Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv.) shows the great probability of Severus being at the station, when the above named gateway slab was erected.

Lanchester has yielded nineteen inscriptions, but nothing which bears a date is earlier than the reign of Gordian, at which time some buildings were restored, thus showing their previous existence. Pierse Bridge has only yielded two sepulchral inscriptions, from which nothing as to the date of its erection can be gained.

Having thus discussed the point as to the omission of these stations from the Itinerary, let us proceed to the second part of the subject, in which I think we shall be able to identify the names of two of them as *Notitia* stations.

Taking first Sectio LXII (the stations under the Duke of Britain), we find that there are only four whose sites we know with any degree of certainty, namely, *Danum*, *Lavatræ*, *Verteræ*, and *Braboniacum*; out of the remainder I have selected three, *Arbeia*, *Dictis*, and *Concangium*, for the purpose, if possible, to throw light upon their position.

Horsley placed *Arbeia* at Moresby, *Dictis* at Ambleside, and *Concangium* at Natland, near Kendal. In this decision Horsley evidently acted upon an erroneous basis, for he says, "The order in which *Arbeia* is mentioned in the *Notitia* suits very well with the supposition that this (Moresby) is the place, for Moresby is nine or ten computed miles from Ellenborough, which station I take to be

the last of those contained under the title *per lineam valli*." Acting upon this argument, Horsley ought to have placed *Præsidium* at Moresby, as being the first on the list, while, with far greater probability of correctness, he places it on the other side of England, at Broughton, in Lincolnshire. But he seems to have had very little *fixed opinion* regarding these stations, for he says again, "I was once inclined to suspect, from the inscriptions found in Richmondshire mentioning the *cohors Nerviorum* (*sic*) that *Dictis* might be there. But the *Nervii Dictenses* were perhaps no part of that cohort; and if they were, the cohort was afterwards removed to *Virosidum*." The last clause of this is to me unintelligible; but had Horsley retained the idea of placing *Dictis* in Richmondshire he would have been probably nearer the truth. My own views would lead me to place *Concangium* at Greta Bridge, *Dictis* either between Greta Bridge and Pierse Bridge (in a district abounding with Roman remains) or at Pierse Bridge itself, and *Arbeia* either at Pierse Bridge or at the mouth of the Tees; and for this I will adduce the following reasons:—[5]

The author of the *Notitia* seems invariably to act upon a certain rule, that of recording the names of the stations, either in a line from north to south or from east to west, and where that cannot be arranged, to follow the course of a river, a coast line, or a line of road. For example, he commences with the infantry on the east coast of England, under the Count of the Saxon shore, and he gives the stations due north and south, viz., *Othona* (Bradwell), *Dubræ* (Dover), *Lemanæ* (Lymne).

He then gives the cavalry on the same coast, also in the same order, at Brancaster and Burgh Castle; next, the *castra* at either end of the channel which separated the Isle of Thanet from the main land, commencing with the northern one (Reculver); lastly, are the two *castra* on the Sussex coast, given *from* east *to* west, namely, *Anderida* and *Portus Adurni*. Turning to the *Item per lineam valli*, we find, both by inscriptions and the visible remains of the fortresses, that he has pursued a line commencing at the *east* and terminating at the *west* end of the wall.

[5] The Rev. J. Hodgson, in his list of the Roman auxiliary forces in Britain, published in his History of Northumberland, is inclined to place *Concangium* at Greta Bridge, but does not state his reasons.

In this section under consideration (LXII) we find that he commences with the cavalry, *apparently again* from east to west—then follow the infantry, commencing with those stationed at *Arbeia*. Surely there is a strong *prima facie* ground for inferring that the same rule is adopted, which is almost rendered a certainty when we find him enumerating, in regular succession, the three stations immediately next westward of Greta Bridge, *Lavatræ* (Bowes), *Verteræ* (Brough), and *Braboniacum* (Brougham). Of this latter fact there can be no doubt, as the names are clearly laid down and similarly arranged in the Antonine Itinerary. Why, then, should we not give the name of the station preceding Bowes in the *Notitia* to the remains of the station immediately preceding it, on the route which we find the *Notitia* is taking, especially when that station is nameless?

Again, the Chorography of Ravennas, after naming several stations in Cumberland, proceeds by way of Binchester, Bowes, and Catterick to York, and then gives the following six stations in succession:—*Decuaria* (Petuaria), *Devovicia* (Delgovitia), *Dixio* (Dictis), *Coganges* (Concangium), *Corie*, and *Lapocarium*. Now, from the geography of Ptolemy, we know that *Petuaria* was somewhere about the mouth of the Humber. From the Antonine Itinerary we find that *Delgovitia* was in the neighbourhood of Londesborough. Should we not then reasonably conclude that the next station named was also in Yorkshire, especially when we find the author proceeding northwards to the *east* end of the Roman wall (immediately after naming these stations)? Even for this work, prone to eccentricities as it is, it would be too great a bound to pass at once from the east of Yorkshire to the west of Westmoreland, omitting every station *en route*.

The inference is plain—*Dictis* and *Concangium* were between York and Londesborough on the south, and the Roman wall on the north.

Greta Bridge, which I thus fix upon as *Concangium*, is a fortress of from four to five acres in extent, has been strongly walled, and has yielded ten inscriptions, but none of them afford any clue as to its garrison; the Roman road from Catterick to Bowes runs through it. Between this station and Piersebridge the whole country abounds with British and Roman remains; there are several undoubted Roman camps, and some immense irregular intrenchments. At

Gainford an interesting inscribed altar to Jupiter Dolychenus has been found. Was *Dictis* in this neighbourhood, or at Pierse Bridge? If at the latter I would call attention to the fact that Drake, in his map of the Roman roads in Yorkshire, traces one from York to the mouth of the Tees, where it is joined by another from Dunsley Bay. They are apparently vicinal ways, but I am ignorant of the source from which he obtained his information as to their existence, or whether there are any traces of their course at present visible. It is possible that *Arbeia* might be situated at the junction of these roads, but I am inclined to fix it at Pierse Bridge, and *Dictis* somewhere near Old Richmond. It is plain, from the composition of its garrison, the *Numerus Barcariorum Tigrisiensium*, which Dr. McCaul (Brit. Rom. Inscr. p. 84) translates, "The company of bargemen of the Tigris," that *Arbeia* was situated upon a wide river, such as the Tees is, in this locality. It is also noticeable that the *numerus* does not bear the name of the station, as at *Longovicum*, *Derventio*, and *Dictis*.

Horsley, after placing *Arbeia*, *Dictis*, and *Concangium* as I have stated previously, and *Lavatræ*, *Verteræ* and *Brabomiacum* as in the Itinerary, turns suddenly back in his route and fixes *Maglovæ* at Greta Bridge, and *Magæ* at Pierse Bridge, then again turning and leaping over the whole of these stations we find his *Longovicum* at Lancaster, and *Derventio* at Papcastle. Such a circuitous route, after the plain and straightforward manner in which the other *Notitia* stations are arranged, is contrary alike to reason and to probability; and I venture to say there are few antiquaries of the present day who can concur in it.

Lastly, I will take some of the stations *per lineam valli*. The first twelve of these, from *Segedunum* (Wallsend) to *Amboglanna* (Birdoswald), have been clearly identified by the exertions of Horsley, Dr. Bruce, and others. The *modus operandi* by which this result has been obtained is the proving, from inscriptions, that the garrisons in succession agree exactly with the order in which the names of the same corps occur in the *Notitia*. But beyond Birdoswald this order ceases, and though there are the remains of at least five stations visible, in none of them has been found an inscription mentioning any of the corps forming the garrisons of the remaining stations *per lineam valli*. Other corps are

named :—the *Coh. II. Tungrorum*, at Walton House ; the *Coh. I. Nervana Germanorum*, and *Ala Tungrorum*, at Burgh-upon-Sands.

From what is now visible, the station at Walton House appears to be the next one to Birdoswald ; but as an inscription has lately been found on the face of a quarry near Lanercost, mentioning a decurion of the *Ala Petriana*, there may have been a station at that place, and its name *Petriana ;* but I have a strong suspicion that the *Notitia* has followed the line of the wall *no farther* than Lanercost. It seems evident, from the state of the wall westward from that point, that it was destroyed long previously (and probably during the Roman period) to that portion of it which is in Northumberland. While in the latter county, and as far into Cumberland as Lanercost, we have large portions of it here and there above ground, and the castra in a comparatively good state of preservation, beyond Lanercost not a trace of it remains above the foundation. Dr. Bruce accounts for the complete destruction of the wall in this region by the scarcity of building stone, which has tempted the inhabitants to make a quarry of it. To a certain extent this may be the case, but not entirely. It cannot account, however, for the absence of the forces named in the *Notitia*, and the substitution of others in the inscriptions of the neighbourhood. Some of the *castra* may have existed as independent forts in the time of the *Notitia ;* but the continuity of the line of defence was, I apprehend, broken some time before.

My opinion is, I think, supported by the Chorography of Ravennas. Commencing at the east end of the Wall, this author proceeds regularly westward as far as *Æsica*, the tenth station, where he breaks suddenly off. It is right to state, however, that he omits *Pons Alii* (Newcastle), and *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) from this list. The latter, which lies some distance south of the Wall, he had previously given, and we find the remaining stations indiscriminately mixed with others not named in the *Notitia*.

Again, had the *Notitia* followed the line of the Wall, I think we should have had *Luguvallium* (Carlisle) in the list.[6] According to precedent Stanwix should have been the

[6] It may be objected that the name of a town south of the wall could not be given as *on* the wall. To this I would reply that *Vindolana*, the ninth station, is still further south of the wall than Carlisle.

fortress, and Carlisle the town under its protection, which appears to have been the case, for there is no evidence, that I am aware of, that Carlisle was ever a walled *castrum*, important town though it was. Both Stanwix and Carlisle are, I think, comprehended in the name *Luguvallium* of Antonine, as at *Durobrivæ*, where Castor, on the Northamptonshire side of the river Nen, is the fortress, and Chesterton, on the Huntingdonshire side, the town. The Second Iter of Antoninus (unlike the First) crosses the Wall at a point where there is a station, and the only name given is *Luguvallium*, thus passing Stanwix in silence, unless it is comprehended under that term.

But by far the most important evidence that we must look for *Aballaba* and the subsequent stations, elsewhere than *on* the Wall, was the discovery in 1865 at Cockermouth Castle (built of stones from the adjoining Roman castrum at Papcastle) of an inscribed stone which seems to fix *Aballaba* (or *Aballava*) at the latter place. The inscription, of which the commencement, for perhaps two or three lines is wanting, runs thus :—

. EG AVG IN CI
NEVM. FRISION
VM . ABALLAV
ENSIVM
'XIIIIKALETXIIIKA
NOV. GORDIETPOMPI
ES ET ATTICO ET PRE
...TATO . COS . VSLM.

This shows that in November, A.D. 241, a Cuneus of Frisiones, called the "Aballavensian" were stationed at Papcastle.[7] On turning to the *Notitia*, we find that several bodies of troops, had attached to their ethnic name, the name of the place where they were stationed, such as the *Numerus Nerviorum Dictensium*, *Equites Dalmatarum Branoduensium*, &c., but none *who bore the name of a place, were stationed elsewhere than at the place itself.* This is con-

[7] I have taken the inscription from a lithographic copy of the stone published by Mr. H. T. Wake of Cockermouth. Dr. Bruce (Gent. Mag., Sept. 1866) gives a slightly different reading, especially of the seventh line, which he commences cos . er. Dr. M'Caul of Toronto, in a recent communication to the writer, gives the first four letters of this seventh line as RUST (*ituti*).

firmed by inscriptions at *Bremenium* and *Bremetennacum*, whilst at Binchester, which had long been identified with the *Vinovium* of Antoninus, the following inscription was found :

. MANDVS
EX . C . FRIS
VINOVIE
V.S.L.M

Dr. McCaul (*Br. Rom. Inscr.* p. 65) expanded it *Amandus ex cohorte Frisiorum Vinoviæ, &c.* The Cockermouth inscription enables us to give the true reading—*Amandus ex cuneo Frisionum Vinoviensium, &c.* Judging by these precedents is there any doubt of Papcastle being *Aballaba?*[8]

But there is still further evidence. The two stations next to *Aballaba* in the *Notitia* are *Congavata*, garrisoned by the second cohort of the Lingones, and *Axelodunum* by the first cohort of the Spaniards. Now, at the two stations next adjoining Papcastle, we find these cohorts mentioned in inscriptions—*Coh. II. Lingonum* at Moresby, and *Coh. I. Hispanorum* at Ellenborough (where they have left many inscriptions), whilst not a trace of them has been found on the wall. In fact, the *successive order* of the *Notitia* garrisons, broken off at Lanercost, seems renewed at Papcastle, Moresby, and Ellenborough. Are these two latter *Congavata* and *Axelodunum?* I certainly incline to that opinion. I am aware that an objection may be raised to the effect that inscriptions of a later date than those at Ellenborough have been left by *Coh. I. Hispanorum*, at Netherby ; but, unless the objectors are prepared to prove *that place* to be *Axelodunum*, and thus extend the *Notitia* stations to the north of the wall, it cannot be sustained. We find some of the cohorts for centuries at the same place. What more likely than that the *Coh. I. Hispanorum*, after executing their work at Netherby, should return to their old head-quarters at Ellenborough ? It might as well be urged that because the same cohort had left an inscription at the Bridge of Ardoch, in Perthshire, and the *Coh. II. Lingonum* another at Ilkley, in Yorkshire, that those places were *Axelodunum* and *Congavata*.

[8] Since writing the above, I have received from Dr. McCaul of Toronto, part xiii. of his Notes on Latin Inscriptions found in Britain. At pp. 25 26 of this pamphlet he apparently comes to the same conclusion as to the site of *Aballava* ; while, at pp. 16, 17, he seems inclined to place *Petriana* at Old Carlisle.

A few words, and I have done. As it is impossible that the whole of the stations named as *per lineam valli* could be *on* the wall, the confusion introduced into the *Notitia*, by the omission of the terminal station, is perhaps but a reflex of the period of its compilation. A few years subsequently both legions and cohorts left Britain. The grand wave of Roman conquest which, from the time of Cæsar, had passed over Gaul and submerged Britain, gradually rolled back, amidst the closing scenes of the Lower Empire, leaving behind it, upon the surface of our island, the ruins of its own creation. Upon our age has it fallen to guard and preserve what still remains of them, to investigate their history, and to illustrate their grandeur, which is that of Britain—of Europe—of the Roman world.

NOTES ON SOME MEDIÆVAL METHODS OF DEPOSITING DOCUMENTS.

By JOSEPH BURTT, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

The occurrence in Cornwall of an example of the turned wooden boxes anciently used in the Treasury of the Exchequer for the deposit of documents has induced me to put together a few notes on the subject, which may not be unacceptable. In the course of last autumn I was called upon to deal with a small collection of similar boxes, some of which were still occupied by the documents placed in them during the reigns of Edw. II. and III., and which had been found by Mr. Scott a few years ago when making those investigations in the precincts of the Abbey of Westminster which resulted in his interesting and valuable work, the "Gleanings."[1] To the ever courteous and kind liberality of our distinguished Vice-President, the Dean of Westminster, I was indebted for the opportunity of exhibiting, at one of the meetings of the Institute, several specimens of those boxes. And to the kind courtesy of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy I was obliged for the many and varied examples of boxes, &c., which were brought from the Public Record Office on that occasion.

In the year 1836 the late Sir Francis Palgrave published the first volume of "The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer; together with other documents illustrating the History of that Repository." That repository then consisted of one building, the Chapter House of the Abbey of Westminster, which was doing duty as the store-house of the chief contents of the three ancient treasuries of the Sovereigns of England, formerly in connection with the Palace of Westminster, and of one in the Tower of London. The first treasury is described as being "in the cloister of the Abbey of Westminster," and which was known as the chapel of

[1] Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, by George Gilbert Scott, R.A., F.S.A., &c. 2nd edition, 1863. Oxford and London J. H. and J. Parker.

the Pyx; another was "adjoining the Court of the Receipt of the Exchequer," in the Old Palace of Westminster; and the third was over the gateway "going out of the New Palace into St. Margaret's Lane." The contents of these treasuries were transferred to the Chapter House at intervals, probably, from the time of the dissolution of the Abbatical Establishment to the year after the fire at the Cottonian Library in Dean's Yard, in 1751.

Attached to the Royal Chapel and Palace, the King's Treasury was an object of especial solicitude in times when large sums of money were collected and kept in bulk, in the



Group of "Skippets" from the Muniment room of the Abbey of Westminster; about ¼th size.

same place of strength as the crown, jewels, and household plate of the Sovereign, and the most important legal and diplomatic documents. In the volumes to which attention has been drawn we have a complete history of this important branch of the Palace arrangements, from the time of its first organization as a Record Office by Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, whose calendar was made in the year 1323, to the reign of James I. There are six folded plates of illustration to this work, of which plate ii. is described as representing "An antient *skippet* of wood, turned in the lathe. It appears from a memorandum written in ink upon the cover (too faint to be represented in the lithograph) that it contained a deed executed by the Bishop of Hereford in favour of John de Mawarden, or Marden. The handwriting of this memorandum is of the reign of Edward II." The identity of the "skippet" here represented with that exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Iago from

Bodmin and with those from the muniment-room of Westminster Abbey was at once apparent. For the use of the word as applied to these turned boxes I have searched in vain. It does not occur at all in the calendar of Bishop Stapleton, although such boxes were used in the reign of Edw. I., of which an example was shown at the Institute. In that calendar all the records are described as being in bundles, in hanapers of twigs (of which also an example was exhibited), in forcers of leather bound with iron (also shown), pixes, coffins, coffers, and cases of leather and wood of some variety. These were for the most part distinguished by signs having some relation to the subject matter of their contents. A coffer containing documents relating to the crown would have that figure marked on it; those relating to Yarmouth would be distinguished by three herrings; and those referring to royal marriages had the subject expressed by a hand in hand. The system was, in fact, a picture-writing which required no knowledge of reading to interpret. Continuing the history of the Royal Treasury, books of memoranda follow Stapleton's calendar in date, the first beginning in 19 Edw. III. By the entries in these books, which are doubtless contemporaneous, and which extend to the reign of Henry VIII., it would appear that all documents placed in the Treasury were at least doubly enclosed. They were first put into a pix, skippet, hanaper, or coffer, and afterwards placed in a large coffer, coffin, or chest, with a distinctive mark. If that was the case during the time embraced by Stapleton's calendar it is not so stated. There is, however, one remarkable exception. It is an entry of "A Pix in which is another Pix which is not to be opened except in the presence of the King or Treasurer. It was previously sealed with the King's seal, and was opened at Nottingham by his command in the month of November, in the seventeenth year of his reign [Edward I.]. It is now sealed with the seal of the Bishop of Exeter, the Treasurer." [2]

Of the etymology of the word "skippet" there can be little doubt. It is simply the diminutive of "skep" or "skip," a word which can be traced through dictionaries and glossaries as the Anglo-Saxon term for a basket or tub,

[2] "Antient Kalendars and Inventories," vol. i., p. 95.

down to its use in the present day by market-gardeners for the round basket in which all kinds of vegetable produce are brought to market. In the "Promptorium Parvulorum" it means simply a basket. Whether it came originally from the Greek *σκαφίς*, a canoe or other article hollowed out, we need not here inquire. In Jamieson's Scotch dictionary "skep" is described as "a great vessel of wicker *or of earth* to keep corn in." If the term was not originally limited in application to materials of basket-work its diminutive might be used to boxes of a special make or shape, and particularly to any like the usual forms of basket known as "skeps." The distinction between the "pixis" and "skippettum" is difficult to determine. In the work I have so often referred to we have entries of the "pixis" without any distinction—the "pixis quadrata," "pixis lignea," "parva pixis de ligno rotunda," and the "pixis rotunda," as used for the deposit of documents.

Of the "skippettum" the entries are by no means so numerous. The word is generally without any descriptive adjunct, but there is an entry under the date of 32 Edw. III. of "a long skipet," containing accounts and charters of Poitou, being placed in a coffer with other things,[3] and in 42 Edw. III. we have an entry of a certain little "skypet" containing deeds relating to Dartford.[4] In modern French we have "esquipot," a money-box, showing the transference of the word. There does not seem to me, then, sufficient evidence in the entries in the ancient calendars to appropriate the term "skippet" to the turned wooden boxes lately brought before us, which might with equal fairness be styled "parvæ pixides rotundæ." The gentleman to whose kindness and intelligent research we are indebted for the example of one of these peculiar deed-boxes, found in a remote part of the country, tells us of a local use of the word "skippett," in a sense which appears to have no connection with its original derivation, and to be an application of it not generally known. We know well that the art of turnery flourished extensively in this country during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and some of these curious boxes, by whatever name they were called, are good specimens of the manufacture which supplied wooden bowls and trenchers to the scanty

[3] "Ancient Kalendars and Inventories," vol. iii. p. 211.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. i., p. 232.

furniture of the dining-table in ordinary houses during that period.

Among the examples from the Public Record Office were three kinds of round boxes, differing from those lately under consideration. The first was a box turned out of the solid block of wood, and of a shape that would pack much closer in chests than the earlier form. It had also a small opening left for the seal to be pendent externally—a practice which ensured its rapid destruction unless specially protected. The second was a thin wooden frame covered with leather and lined with paper. It is probably of the time of James I., and is of a kind used for the storing of the title-deeds of estates sent into the Court of Wards and Liveries while proceedings were going on, and never taken away. They are very numerous, they differ much in size, and many of them are of a square or oblong shape, while some are round. A careful examination of the printed paper with which they are lined would probably bring to light fragments of very curious, if not valuable, literary matter which has been lost to us. In this respect, time may so have enhanced the value of the material used by the trunk-maker of the



Case of *cuir bouilli* from the Public Record Office. Height, 8¼ in.; diameter, 7¼ in.

seventeenth century, that he may be found to have preserved what has been sought for in vain elsewhere and become an object of great interest. The third specimen was a modern

copy of the early "skippet" or "pix," perhaps fifty years old. Its chief advantage is the exclusion of dust, but there is nothing else in its favour.

To about the reign of Henry VI. may be assigned the case represented on the previous page. It is round, and formed of a thin frame of wood covered with brown *cuir bouilli*, richly ornamented with patterns worked by a sharp-pointed tool, and lined with blue velvet. It was probably used for plate, or other object of value deposited in one of the Royal Treasuries. The large richly-bound and illuminated Books of Indentures for the foundation of the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster Abbey, preserved in the Public Record Office, are in cases of a similar construction and decoration, fitted with pads of quilted silk, upon which the velvet bindings and silver seal-cases rested.

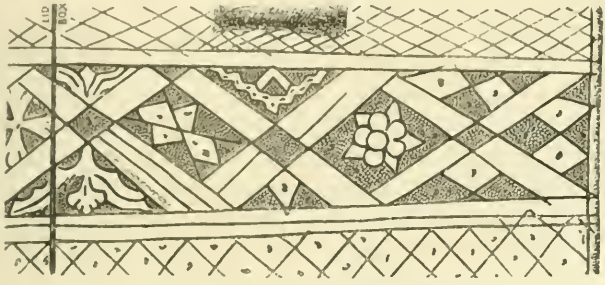


Case of *cuir bouilli* (for a piece of plate, or valuable records ?), found at Laulvet Rectory, Cornwall
"Skippet," or turned wooden box, found in the church chest, Bodmin.
Scale, one fourth.

The leather-covered case kindly brought by the Rev. Mr. Iago from Cornwall presents many points of resemblance to the cases in the Public Record Office. It is probably of the reign of Henry VII.

Sir John Maclean has kindly directed my attention to some entries of proceedings upon the Common Plea Rolls of

Edward IV. for the recovery of family title deeds relating to Cornwall, spoken of as being in similar boxes of deposit as used in the Royal Treasury. On the Roll of Michaelmas, 7 Edw. IV., Sir Walter Moyle sues John Moyle for the recovery of "quandam pixidem cum cartis scriptis et aliis munimentis in eadem pixide contentis quam ei injuste detinet," and on the roll for Easter, 8 Edw. IV., is an entry showing that John Jane was summoned "ad respondendum Ricardo Boturnell de placito quod reddat ei quendam calathum cum scriptis cartis et aliis munimentis in eodem calatho contentis." The word "calathus" does not occur in the ancient calendars of the Treasury; its meaning is doubtless the same as that of "hanaperium," or the "hanaper of twyggys."



Detail of ornament on the Lanivet case. Full size.

The most interesting examples of the early "skippets"—for I beg leave to continue to use the term assigned to them by the learned editor of the "Antient Kalendars," and the first Deputy Keeper of the Public Records—are unquestionably those found by Mr. Scott, who has, in graphic terms, described their discovery while he was very minutely examining the immediate vicinity of the Pyx chamber in the cloisters of Westminster. Being then in the adjoining Chapter House, I had the good fortune to be called in by that gentleman to assist in the examination and description of the contents of that 'chamber of mystery," which I had reason to believe were a part of the contents of the ancient Royal Treasury.

I would now direct attention to another kind of depository for documents, the "hanaper." In Bishop Stapleton's calendar it is often noticed, and generally with a distinguishing mark or sign, as the "hanaperium de virgis," which

appears to have been sometimes put into a chest. In 36 Edw. III. mention is made of a "hanaperium ligneum." In the 42nd Edw. III. there was delivered into the Treasury "a hanaper covered with black leather, and bound with iron and sealed," containing muniments. This description much resembles that of the "forcer," to be afterwards noticed. In the 3rd year of Richard II., Thomas Orgrave, clerk, delivers into the Treasury muniments relating to lands in Berkhampstead purchased by the king, and placed in a certain hanaper in a chest. That hanaper was exhibited, and there is yet attached to it a label describing its contents exactly conforming to the entry in the memoranda, and the deeds now in it agree exactly with the entries. It is not in so perfect a condition as the larger example shown, but the two are identical in make and texture.

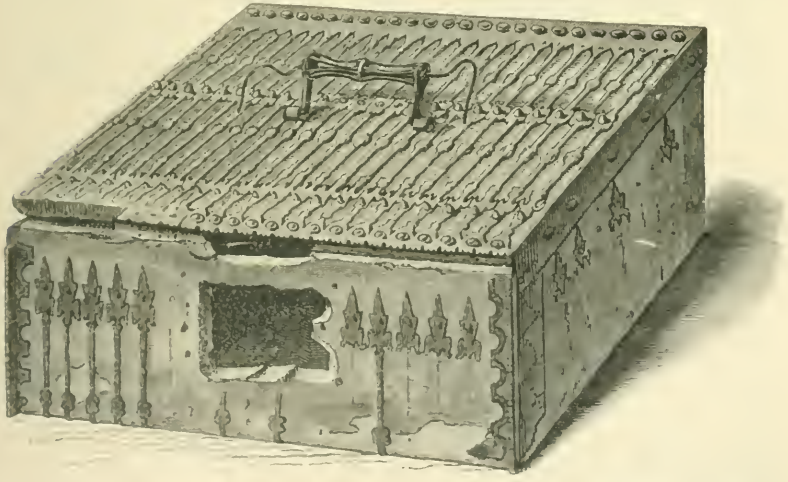
In the 19th year of Henry VIII. there is an entry of the delivery into the Treasury of "oone baskett of bookes concerning the king's household."

Numerous entries occur of the deposit of documents in a "forcerium correum ferro ligato," a leather forcer bound with iron. Examples of these objects are exceedingly rare. The one lately exhibited came from the chapel of the Pyx, and is figured at p. 96 of Mr. Scott's "Gleanings" (2nd ed.). The ironwork has sustained considerable injury. In the fourteenth century forcers do not seem to have been placed in chests. They only occur in the Calendar of Walter de Stapleton, in which it is stated that some documents of kings and queens of England were put in "a green forcer of copper gilt bound with escutcheons of the arms of England and Spain," and others in "a forcer painted plainly" with the chequer board, in "a green forcer," in "a wooden forcer partly bound with iron." The last entry in that calendar relates to letters of the King of England and some nobles of Burgundy being placed in a "black wooden forcer bound with iron." In an inventory dated 30 Edw. I. given by Mr. Riley in "Memorials of London and London Life," is an entry of "one painted forcer, value 8d.;" and in the same work is an "Ordinance of the Forcer-makers" in the 7th of Henry IV., showing that there then was a company of that trade in the City of London.[5]

[5] See Promptorium Parvulorum, p. 170, s. v. Foorcere.

A fine example of *cuir bouilli* work is preserved in the museum at York. It is a cylindrical or shallow drum-shaped box, measuring 21 in. in circumference, 3 in. only in depth, and is elaborately ornamented with representations of stags, animals of the chase, foliage, branches of the oak, and the like; the ground-wood dotted with little punctures that have been filled in with red colour. The late Sir Samuel R. Meyrick ascribed this beautiful box to the time of Edward II. It is figured in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. iii., p. 123. There is a loop of leather affixed to the middle of the under side, and also two at each of the sides, one on the box, a second on the lid; through these a strap or cord was passed, by means of which the box might be effectually secured, and the lid might be opened without being detached from the box. This simple and effective mode of closing objects of this description was not unfrequently adopted.

Besides the depositories to which attention has been directed there are entries in the "Antient Kalendars" of modifications of the coffer or box, the difference between which must be subject of conjecture. A remarkable example of the "Coffer" is here figured. Substantially made



"Coffer" in the Public Record Office, formerly in the Treasury of the Exchequer. Size, externally, 16 in. by 13¾ in., and 7 in. deep.

of oak, bound with iron, and covered with light rods of that metal with heads of "fleur de lis" upon a thin *gesso* ground,

it must have presented an elegant appearance in its original condition. In the inside are remains of a cotton cloth lining on which a pattern in distemper appears to have been stencilled. This coffer was probably used for objects of value. These "coffers" were doubtless chiefly of wood. The chief variations are the following. In Bishop Stapleton's calendar there are entries of "a coffer of leather bound with iron," and marked with the letter V.; "a plain wooden coffin," "a coffer painted red, bound with iron," "coffer painted green, bound with iron," "a little white wooden coffin," "a green coffer bound with iron," "a wooden roll" (scrinium). Among the latter entries there appears, in 35 Edw. III., one relating to some charters of Aquitaine, being in "three white and new coffins," after this are entries of "a square coffin," "two coffins of leather," "a round coffin," and other similar descriptions, by which, perhaps, it might be inferred that the terms "coffer" and "coffin" were used interchangeably. A curious entry occurs under the date 13 Henry IV., showing the delivery to R. Courtney of muniments touching alliances with Scotland out of an oblong coffer, inscribed, "Hic continentur," &c., "being in the chest on *which they used to play chess* in the Royal Treasury." A very fine coffer of the year 1327, with an inscribed lid, and with emblazoned shields of arms on the side and top, was shown at the Institute on the occasion referred to. It contained the documents relating to the ransom of David Bruce. A bag, "mantica," is seldom mentioned.

I must leave others to determine to what class we are to assign "a black case made like a cup and bound with iron," containing charters by Prince Edward to his consort Eleanor of Castile, mentioned by Bishop Stapleton. The description of a great "hutch" ("huchea"), marked with the No. XVI. containing muniments of the kings of Scotland and others of that country, placed in "two forcers of leather bound with iron, four hanapers covered with black leather, nine wooden forcers, eighteen hanapers of twigs, and thirty-two pixes," gives a fair idea of the chests in which the smaller cases of deposit were stowed away, generally under the protection of three locks.

The general arrangement of the records of the Treasury, as shown by Arthur Agarde in his "Compendium," written 1610, seems to have undergone but few alterations to that

period. "A raacke of dubble presses" and great chests contained the "bagges" and "sondry boxes" in which the records were stowed away. Of these none now remain except that very massive one in which the Domesday Book is said to have been kept, and which has been engraved in the photo-zincograph copies of that work. But the early English chests preserved in the muniment room of the Abbey of Westminster are remarkable examples of the taste and skill with which the officers of the great monastic establishments succeeded in treating subjects requiring only simplicity and strength. The details of the ironwork of one of these chests formerly in the chapel of the Pyx, and now existing in the Public Record Office, are given in the "Gleanings," p. 94.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICES OF RELICS RECENTLY OBTAINED BY THE HON. WILLIAM OWEN STANLEY, IN HIS RESEARCHES IN HOLYHEAD ISLAND.

Since the completion of excavations at Ty Mawr, and the adjacent sites of ancient occupation on Mr. Stanley's estates, near Holyhead, of which, through his liberal kindness towards the Archæological Institute, a record has been given in this Journal, several objects of considerable interest have been brought to light. Of these, including some relics of which no example had been previously found in Mr. Stanley's excavations, the following account may form an acceptable appendix to his memoirs. The numerous implements and appliances, however rude in fashion and of obscure purpose, are of no slight interest, as aiding our inquiries into the usages of daily life, and the measure of civilization, to which the occupants of Holyhead Mountain and the ancient settlements around its base had attained at a remote period.

I. Of the relics recently found may first be noticed a remarkable block of hard and ponderous stone (fig. 1), considered by Mr. Stanley to have been used as a whetstone for sharpening instruments or weapons; probably stone celts or other appliances of that description. The upper surface is concave; the hollow is shaped out with considerable regularity, and bears marks of frequent percussion, as shown in the woodcut, whilst around the forepart and edge there are grooves or angular nicks that may have been produced in some operation of sharpening tools and the like. It is remarkable that these grooves appear to take a direction radiating from a common central point. Some of them are very slight, scarcely to be noticed at first inspection; for instance the little nick on the right-hand edge, marked with a small cross in the woodcut. The dimensions of this remarkable block are about 11 in. in breadth, and 9 in. in thickness. The purposes for which it was in-



Fig. 1. Block of stone, singularly grooved, found in Holyhead Island. Breadth, 11 in.; thickness, 9 inches.

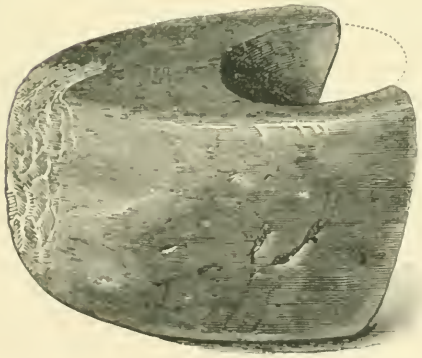


Fig. 2. Moiety of a hammer-head of stone, found in Holyhead Island

tended are very obscure; the hollow surface apparently served in crushing or pounding some substance by aid of a roller or muller, and it has been conjectured that the pulverised product may have gradually fallen down through the marginal channels. No similar object has, however, hitherto been noticed that may assist our conclusions in regard to this ancient appliance.

II. With this relic Mr. Stanley brought before the Institute a stone tool of considerable interest. It is a hone, or sharpening stone of some hard material, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, having on each of its sides a deep-cut groove, about 4 in. in length, caused, apparently, in sharpening some implement or weapon of metal, such as a spear-head, javelin, celt, and the like. It is likewise adapted for use as an ordinary whetstone or polisher, and is of a form worked with care, so as to be conveniently portable on a journey or in warlike expeditions. It may be noticed, moreover, that it appears to have served as a hand-hammer, each of the extremities bearing traces of much percussion. This curious implement possesses an additional interest as having been found at Ty Mawr, near the spot where a considerable deposit of spears, celts, and other objects of bronze were found in 1832, as related by Mr. Stanley in his memoir on ancient circular habitations excavated there in 1862.[1] In the course of his subsequent researches, in 1868, sharpening stones of various kinds were likewise found, and two of these have been figured in his second memoir on the ancient vestiges brought to light on his estates in Holyhead Island.[2]

Ancient mechanical appliances of this description have occurred in Ireland, but they are comparatively uncommon.[3] Small hones also, or burnishers, have repeatedly been found

[1] Arch. Journ. vol. xxiv. p. 253; Archæologia Cambr., third series, vol. xiv. The whetstone above described was found in 1870; it has been figured in Mr. Stanley's Memoir on his more recent discoveries, Arch. Journ., vol. xxvii. p. 160, pl. iii. fig. 1.

[2] Ibid., vol. xxvi. p. 321, figs. 18, 19.

[3] Certain flat, oval, or round stones, sometimes regarded as missiles or sling-stones, are found in Ireland, having on each of the flat surfaces a groove, such as might be produced by sharpening a tool or weapon; for such uses, as Sir. W. Wilde suggests, they may have been occasionally employed. Catal. Mus. R. I. Acad. 75, fig. 56; Description of the Tonymore Crannoge, p. 10, where the use of such objects as weapon-sharpeners is more distinctly stated. Similar grooved pebbles are noticed by Nilsson, Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia, edit. by Sir John Lubbock, p. 13, pl. 1, but they are considered to have been hammer-stones, grooved for facility of attachment to the belt, or the like, by a string. The intention, however, of these curious grooved pebbles does not appear to have been satisfactorily ascertained.

in excavations of British remains in Wiltshire, by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and on other occasions. A few specimens of sharpening stones and polishers may be seen in the instructive Blackmore Museum at Salisbury.[4] In the examination of a Gaulish *oppidum* at Castel Coz, in Brittany, by M. Le Men, of Quimper, nineteen sharpening stones, length 2 to 10 in., were found. They are described as furrowed with lines produced by some sharp-pointed instrument.[5]

In connection with the curious sharpening stones discovered by Mr. Stanley, it may be desirable to invite attention to the repeated occurrence in North Wales, and amidst the heights of Snowdon, of rocks *in situ*, that bear grooved markings, traditionally regarded, in several instances, as produced by sharpening arrows, or some other weapons in early times. A very remarkable example was figured in the Archæological Journal in 1864, from a drawing, for which we were indebted to Mr. John Williams, of Beaumaris.[6] This relic existed, as Mr. Stanley informed us, in a district full of historical traditions, in one of the mountain passes near Aber, in Caernarvonshire, where the Welsh princes had anciently a residence. The rock known as "Carreg y Saethau"—the stone of arrows—has subsequently, through wanton mischief, been broken up and destroyed. Similar scorings, supposed to be of remote antiquity, and associated with popular traditions, exist on Penmaen Mawr, near Glanogwen, also, and elsewhere, and, as we learn from Mr. Elias Owen, there had even been a notion that some of these markings might present characters or possibly some kind of Oghams. Other examples have been noticed in Merionethshire, by Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth.[7] There can be little doubt that in every instance such incisions had been produced, as also on the stones found at Ty Mawr in Mr. Stanley's explorations, in whetting or polishing certain implements, whether of daily use or of warfare.

Whatever may have been the dim traditions of Cambrian

[4] See Mr. E. T. Stevens, Flint Chips, p. 99, where may be found references to notices of objects of this class.

[5] Arch. Cambr., fourth series, vol. i. p. 296.

[6] Arch. Journ. vol. xxi. p. 170; a more detailed notice has been given by Mr. Elias Owen, who enumerates several incised stones of the same description in Caernarvonshire, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. x. p. 315; see also vol. xiii. p. 103.

[7] Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. ix. p. 332, where Mr. E. Owen has figured some of these markings. Certain scorings on rocks in this county had been regarded as occult inscriptions. Ibid., vol. i. p. 275; vol. ii. p. 72.

folklore, associated with relics such as the "Stone of Arrows" and the time-weathered incisions that they bear, we may doubtless trace to some furrowed rock of this description on the heights of Snowdon the origin of a picturesque fable chronicled by Giraldus—the Eagle of Eryri that, scenting slaughter from afar, was wont on every Friday to whet his beak whilst perched on the fatal stone that was almost riven in his impatience.[8]

III. The moiety of a hammer-head, or axe, perforated for the insertion of a handle, and of a type that had not previously occurred in Mr. Stanley's researches. (See woodcuts, fig. 2.) The hole for the haft was in this instance worked by boring perforations from the two opposite faces of the hammer, the difficulty of making them exactly opposite to each other being considerable. These objects, comparatively rare in England and in Wales, more common, however, in Ireland and Scotland, have been found on several occasions associated with bronze weapons; they may probably be ascribed to the period when the use of bronze became prevalent, or to the latter part of the so-called "Stone Age." The fragment here figured, found at Ty Mawr, measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and 2 in. in thickness; it is of quartz and well fashioned; in general form, when perfect, it probably resembled that found at Gelley Dywyll, co. Montgomery, or a specimen from the Thames, preserved in the British Museum.[9] The perforation gradually narrows towards the middle of the stone; the blunt end shows considerable traces of percussion.

A very good example of this type of hammer, sharpened or wedge-shaped at one of its extremities, and obtusely rounded at the other, was found in 1855 on the estates of Lord Newborough, near Glynllifon Castle, Caernarvonshire. It is of massive dimensions—length 10 in., breadth $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., thickness $3\frac{5}{8}$ in., diameter of the perforation $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The material is a trap rock.[1]

[8] Gir. Cambr., Itin. Cambr., lib. ii. c. ix., Camden Anglica, etc. p. 872. "In eisdem montanis de Eryri aquila fabulosa frequentat, quæ qualibet quinta feria lapidi cuidam insidens fatali, ut interemptorum cadavere famem satiet, bellum eodem die fertur expectare; lapidemque predictum cui consuerit insidere, jam prope rostrum purgando pariter et exacuendo perforasse." Edit. and transl. by Sir R. C. Hoare, vol. ii. p. 131.

[9] Franks, Horæ Ferales, p. 139, pl. iii. figs. 3, 4. The examples there noticed vary in length from $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches to nearly 8 inches. See also Lindenschmit, Alterth. uns. heidn. Vorzeit, heft viii. taf. 1.

[1] For a sketch of this specimen I am indebted to Mr. Wynne of Glynllifon,

IV. A flat, heart-shaped, sea-shore pebble, measuring about 5 in. in each direction. It had probably been selected on account of its peculiar form, which rendered it suitable for some mechanical or domestic uses. It was found in the cyttiau at Pen y Bonc. Compare relics of a like description found by Mr. Stanley in hut-circles in Holyhead Island, Arch. Journ., vol. xxvi. p. 320, figs. 7, 8, 9 ; vol. xxvii. p. 161, pl. iv. fig. 4.

V. A rolled pebble of quartz, probably from the sea-shore ; dimensions about 4 by 2 in. It bears traces of percussion and of friction on both of its sides, and may have served as a hand-hammer, or for some mechanical uses.

VI. Another pebble of irregularly ovoid form, of somewhat larger size than the last. These, with numerous other objects of stone, of rude forms, for the most part accidental but modified slightly in some instances by artificial means, are well deserving of examination, as aiding our researches into the usages and the degree of civilization that may have prevailed, at the period, amongst the occupants of Holyhead Mountain and the ancient settlements around its base.

VII. A rudely-fashioned disc of stone, measuring nearly 5 in. in diameter. It may have been used for some game, like quoits, or possibly should be regarded as a rough appliance of domestic use, such as a plate. Objects of this description have occurred in "Picts' Houses," and with other ancient remains, in Orkney and the northern parts of Scotland. In Ireland they have been found repeatedly in crannoges. Sir W. R. Wilde describes specimens in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy as varying from 3 to 4½ in. in diameter, and averaging half an inch in thickness; these are carefully smoothed on the flat surface. Their precise use has not been determined.[2]

VIII. A flat oval stone, measuring nearly 2¾ by 2⅜ in. ; of some dark-colored material that has become singularly light, either by the action of fire or by long exposure to the

through the kindness of the Rev. W. Wynn Williams. A hammer of the same type, length 9 inches, stated to have been found in Anglesey, may be seen in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, London.

[2] Catal. Mus. R. I. A. pp. 96, 99. Three, of fine sandstone, or very fine grit, are of circular form; one, likewise of sandstone, and bevelled towards the edge, is oval. See also Wilde's account of the Tonymore Crannoge, p. 10; and notices of examples from Orkney, in Dr. Traill's Memoir, Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. vii. p. 132.





Fig. 3. Shallow saucer of stone.

Diameter, when perfect, about 5 in. ; thickness of the stone, 1¼ inch.



Fig. 4. Broken casting in yellow metal, found at Ty Mawr.

Length, 3 in ; breadth, at the widest part, 2 in ; weight, 1 pound

weather. It has doubtless been fashioned by the hand of man; it is perforated in the middle, the perforation measuring only half an inch in diameter, and is scarcely suited for insertion of a haft, being apparently adapted only to admit a cord or thong for suspension. The use of such perforated stones is uncertain; in some instances they were probably used as hammers, a purpose, however, for which the material of the specimen found by Mr. Stanley would be too soft and fragile.[3] They vary considerably in size, commencing with the circular "whorls," of which many examples have been collected in Mr. Stanley's researches. These have very commonly been supposed to be weights for the distaff; more probably they were used, in many instances, as buttons for fastening the garments of skins and the like. Perforated stones are of comparatively frequent occurrence in Ireland, and are regarded with a certain superstition; in some instances they are associated with traditions of the fairies, and supposed to be found only by persons in favour with them. The possessor of some such talisman is reputed to have the power of curing diseases by some liquid in which such a holed stone has been steeped.

IX. The moiety of a rudely-fashioned shallow saucer of stone (fig. 3), that measured, in its perfect state, about 5 in. in diameter; the average thickness of the stone is $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. No object of this description had been previously found in the excavations in Holyhead Island, nor, so far as we are aware, in Wales. Such appliances, probably of domestic use, have occurred in "Picts' Houses," and ancient habitations in the Hebrides. A relic of similar form and dimensions, of compact limestone, is figured in Nilsson's "Stone Age in Scandinavia;" it had a very small ear or loop, suited for suspension, on one side; whether a corresponding ear was formed on the opposite side cannot be ascertained, a portion of the margin having been broken off. This vessel was found in a gravel-pit; it is therefore doubtful, as Nilsson observes, to what period it belongs.[4]

[3] Compare Nilsson, Stone Age in Scandinavia, edited by Sir John Lubbock, pl. i. fig. 12.

[4] Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia, Stone Age, edited by Sir John Lubbock, p. 86, pl. x. fig. 210. See also shallow stands or saucers of smaller size found by Mr. Laing in Caithness: Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. vii. p. 40, and Antiquities from Orkney, ibid. p. 218.

X. A singular very rough casting in yellow metal, here figured (fig. 4). It was found near Ty Mawr, not far from the spot where the celts, spears, and other objects of bronze were found in 1832. It has somewhat of the appearance of the upper part of a socketed and looped celt, but, in its present imperfect condition, much damaged also by decay, it is very difficult to form any probable conjecture in regard to the intention and use of this relic. It may have been merely the waste piece broken off in the operation of casting certain implements, the perfect form of which we are now unable to ascertain. This relic has, however, a certain value as proving the actual fabrication of objects of metal by the occupants of the ancient settlement on Holyhead Mountain. It will not be forgotten that a remarkable mould of hone-stone, for casting various weapons, had been found in Anglesey, and also that two moulds of bronze for casting palstaves were brought to light in the adjacent county of Caernarvon, near Bangor.

The weight of the rough fragment found at Ty Mawr is 1 lb.; it measures nearly 3 in. in length, the breadth of the widest part is somewhat less than 2 in. The metal bears no trace of patina, and has the appearance of copper; it had indeed been pronounced by a competent authority to be of that metal, so far as an opinion could be formed from color and the general condition. Probably the alloy may be unusually slight in proportion. Mr. Franks, however, who is very conversant with such matters, assures me that the surface presents the ordinary appearance of unpatinated Celtic bronze. I have not been able to obtain an analysis, which, considering the rare occurrence of ancient objects of copper, would be desirable. The Rev. W. Wynn Williams has described two palstaves found near Llanidan, Anglesey, of which one has a large per centage of copper;[5] and the point of a spear found amongst the bronze relics at Glancych is stated to be of copper.[6]

XI. A portion of a mould of stone, for casting rudely ornamented metal discs of various sizes (fig. 5). This curious object was found at Pen y Bonc towards the close of last

[4] Figured in Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. iii. p. 283.

[5] Ibid., vol. x. p. 229. Of copper relics in Ireland, of rare occurrence, see Wilde, Catal. Mus. R. I. A. pp. 356, 360. See also Sir John Lubbock's Prehistoric Times, second edit. pp. 28, 57.

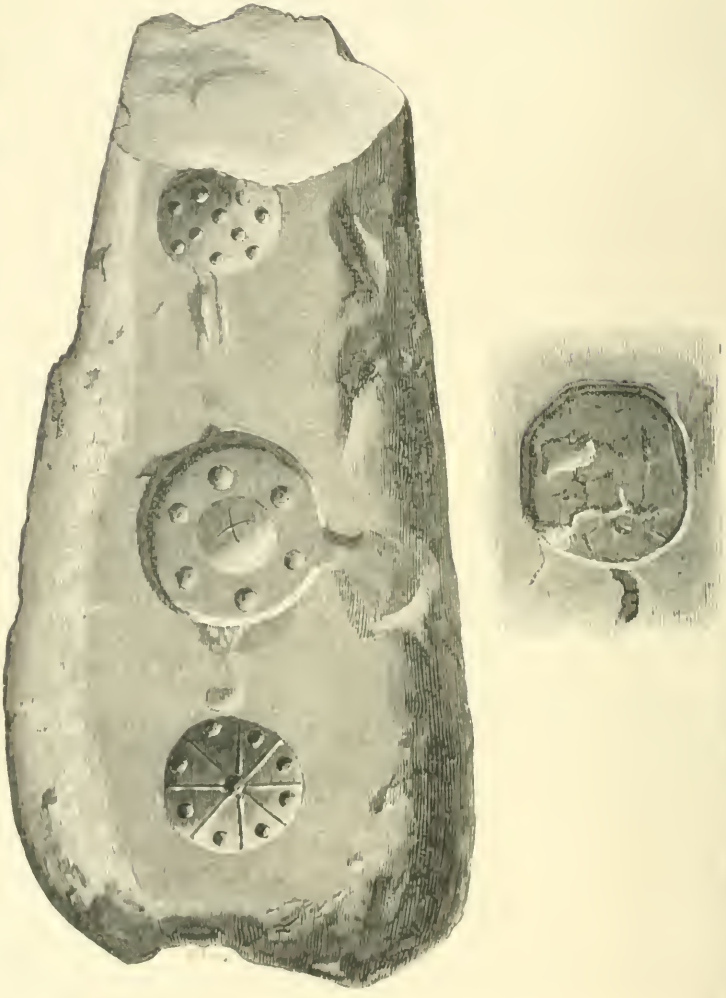


Fig. 3.

Portion of a mould of stone, for casting metal discs, found at Pen y Bonc, near a site of an ancient oblong building, adjacent to remains known as Ty Addu and Ty Efa.

[Original size.]

year; it had been thrown out in the spring with the *débris* of the oblong building near the remains known as Ty Adda and Ty Efa, and was lately noticed when the crop of turnips was taken up. The remains brought to light on that site presented remarkable peculiarities. It was there, it will be remembered, that Mr. Stanley's careful excavations exposed to view a large hearth, with charcoal, scoria, &c., and a singular vitrified pipe of clay, also fragments of Samian and of other wares, believed to be Roman or Roman-British, as related in the memoir on the excavations in 1870.[7] There were also found in this building, as stated, two fireplaces, a grinding stone, and the curious appliances believed to have been for grinding red pigment, relics of which no other examples have occurred in Mr. Stanley's researches.[8]

The occurrence of part of a stone mould in proximity to objects of Roman date, and within or near a building that, as suggested by relics indicating operations of some mechanical arts, may have served for a workshop at some remote period, doubtless claims special attention. The dimensions of the mould are accurately shown in the accompanying woodcut, of the same size as the original stone (fig. 5); the material is described by Mr. Stanley as a "peculiar dark brown clay slate, such as some of the spindle-wheels or buttons are made of; it cuts soft." The surface has been rubbed down, but it does not appear that the stone was, as had at first been imagined, the moiety of a mould, that fitted as in other instances to a counterpart, cavities being formed between the two surfaces, and the metal poured in through a little orifice or channel, when the moieties of the mould were fixed in juxtaposition. It may therefore be concluded that the molten metal may have been simply poured over the surface, placed horizontally, and thus producing discs convex on one side only, their reverses being plain and flat. On the other side of the stone a circle has been struck, possibly the rough commencement of another mould for discs of metal.

The interest and comparative rarity of ancient appliances

[7] Archæol. Journal, vol. xxvii. p. 151.

[8] *Ibid.*, pl. v. p. 161. The discovery of objects connected with certain pigments (possibly body-paint) found in Orkney has there been noticed. Of these some interesting notices have been subsequently given by Dr. Traill, Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. vii. pp. 133, 430.

connected with the mechanical arts have induced me to notice thus minutely the fashion of the relic from Pen y Bone. It is to be regretted that it bears no distinctive indication of date, or of the class of objects, whether pre-Roman, Roman-British, or of some more recent period, to which it may be assigned. It may be scarcely needful to remark that stone moulds for celts, spear-heads, and the like, have repeatedly occurred in the British Islands; of the familiar use of such material at a remote period for casting objects of bronze, a remarkable evidence is supplied in the four-sided mould of hone-stone found in 1846 in the western parts of Anglesey.[1] A few moulds of stone for producing ornaments, and certain objects of undefined character, have likewise been described; amongst these it may suffice to mention a specimen in the Museum at Edinburgh, that would produce, amongst various objects, discs and oval plates of unknown use; also a mould at King William's College, Isle of Man, for casting flat discs (not convex as in the example from Pen y Bone), and three pronged implements, the intention of which, and also the date of the relic, have not been ascertained.[1]

In the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon,[2] described by Mr. J. E. Lee, there is the moiety of a stone mould found with Roman relics, and although in appearance not quite like Roman art, it has been regarded as probably Roman-British. It bears three matrices for casting wheel-shaped ornaments, also a fourth for objects of oblong fashion; the channels for pouring in the metal, and the holes for pins by which the two moieties were kept together in true juxtaposition are distinctly shown. This example measures about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 inches. Of a later age, probably, are two specimens brought before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1863; of these, one found in a cairn near Whitby is formed with a circular cavity, in which a regular pattern radiates from the centre; on the other, the cavity,

[1] Archæol. Journal, vol. iii. p. 257. See also Notices of Celts and of Celt-moulds in Wales, Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. ii. p. 126, and an enumeration of celt moulds formed of stone and of metal, Arch. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 166.

[1] Wilson, Prehistoric Annals, second edit., vol. i. p. 341. See also a singular mould found in Aberdeenshire, Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. iv. p. 382.

[2] Isca Silurum., an Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum at Caerleon, p. 71, pl. xxxvi. Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. 34, c. 8, as pointed out by Mr. C. W. King, alludes to the use of heated stones in Gaul for casting objects of metal, "inter lapides candefactos funditur."

measuring an inch in diameter, presents a regal head in profile. It was found near Jedburgh.[3]

Stone moulds, unquestionably of mediæval date, have been noticed. In the Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 275, pl. 48, an object of this description is figured that was found at Ashill, Norfolk, about 1798. It is now in the possession of the Rev. Samuel Lysons, F.S.A. The mould when complete was probably formed of three pieces, of which this was the central portion. It is worked with matrices for casting ring-brooches, probably of lead, with the angelical salutation *Ave Maria*.

Canon Greenwell has pointed out a certain resemblance between the convex discs that Mr. Stanley's mould would produce, and whorl-like objects of lead marked with radiating lines and intervening pellets, occasionally also with other rude ornaments. These metal relics, however, have invariably a central perforation of considerable size; their date and use have not been ascertained.[4] A flat perforated whorl of stone, bearing also radiating lines and pellets, was found near a sepulchral chamber at Carno, Montgomeryshire.[5]

XII. With the ancient relics above described, obtained by Mr. Stanley in his most recent researches in Holyhead Island, may be noticed also a remarkable object of stone that has lately come into his possession. It is a ponderous ovoid pebble, found near the residence of Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, at Peniarth, Merionethshire. It presents considerable symmetry of form; the surface is uniformly smooth, and the egg shape seems to be the result of art, not caused by rolling amongst other pebbles in a river-bed or the like. Mr. Wynne states that there is no stream in the neighbourhood of sufficient force and rapidity to have brought the stone to its present shapely form. It measures about $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Ovoid stones, wrought apparently with much care, have occasionally been found in barrows, or accompanying early interments. The country around Peniarth presents many ancient vestiges, hill-fortresses, and other remains, but it does not appear that any burial-place or tradition of any ancient site

[3] Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. v. p. 53.

[4] Examples are noticed and figured in the Archæological Journal; see vol. xvii. pp. 161, 267; vol. xix. p. 189. Leaden objects ornamented likewise with radiating lines and pellets have been found near Rome and also in Greece.

[5] Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. iii. p. 305.

could be connected with the discovery of the pebble in question, found some years since by Mr. Wynne himself. He has presented to myself a second, of smaller size, and of more oblate form; it measures rather more than 3 in. in length, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth in one direction, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the other. The weight is 10 oz. An ovoid stone of larger dimensions than those found at Penarth was brought a few years since for the inspection of the Institute by the late Mr. Minty, of Petersfield; it was obtained on Petersfield Heath, in Hampshire, near an ancient burial-place.[6] A dark-brown ponderous pebble, of singularly true egg-shaped form, dimensions 4 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., was shown to me by Mr. Ready. It had probably been shaped in some degree by friction; weight 17 oz. It had been found near an ancient interment in Somersetshire, in the Isle of Athelney, the refuge of Alfred in his exile. According to a note attached to this relic it had been obtained "from the lower part of the grave at Athelney, near the kelt and . . . Dec. 1766." An Irish example, described as found in a cromlech called Leabher Caille (The Hag's Bed), near Glanworth, co. Cork, is in the possession of the Rev. James Beck, F.S.A. The original intention of such ovoid and spherical stones must be left for future consideration; in some instances they may have served as corn-crushers, or for other domestic uses; if appended to a haft by leathern thongs, they would supply a flail-weapon of formidable description. It is, however, very possible, especially when found with early interments, that they may have been associated with a certain superstitious veneration. In Scandinavia the *cultus* of spherical stones was retained, even to comparatively recent times, as stated in the very curious relation by Finn Magnusen, of the idolatrous observances that prevailed in remote mountain districts.[7]

ALBERT WAY.

[6] Arch. Journ., vol. xiii. p. 112.

[7] Annaler for Nord. Oldk. 1838, p. 153; Nilsson, Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia, Stone Age, edit. by Sir John Lubbock, p. 211.





FONT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY AT THE "HERMITAGE OF HONDESACRE," STAFFORDSHIRE.

By J. HEWITT.

On a rocky bank overhanging the Trent, with a rich sweep of the Trent valley before it, stood, in Anglo-Saxon times, the "Hermitage of Hondeshacre." In the twelfth century a Norman parish church took the place of the hermitage, which remained, with later additions, till about twenty years ago, when the building was renewed. The original Norman font, however, remains, of which drawings are here presented. The sculptures consist of seven groups, of two figures each, male and female; the men having moustaches and beards of various patterns, and the ladies exhibiting diversity of costume which none but an Anglo-Norman modiste could adequately describe. The lady No. 3 in the larger view appears to wear her hair parted down the middle. Lady No. 1 conceals her *chevelure* with a cap. The detached female figure has the well-known long tresses, of which a second sculptured example is offered by the queenly statue on the west door of Rochester cathedral.[1] Another of the ladies wears a crown fleur-delisée. Each couple of figures stands under a round arch, divided from the neighbouring group by a twisted column with cushion capital. The relief is low, and the workmanship rude: the material a light-coloured freestone. The shaft and base are renewals, and, from some unexplained cause, a portion of the old part has disappeared from below. The basin is lined with lead: its diameter is 2 ft., its depth 1 ft.; a capacity sufficient for the full ducking of the sturdiest Norman or Anglo-Saxon bantling that ever went by the way. The good old lady who exhibits the church was unable to tell the age of the font, but observed that

[1] The Queen of Henry I., engraved in the Monumental Effigies of Great Britain, by George and Thomas Hollis.

"it was there when hur come;" adding that "her oldest daughter was fifty-nine, and hur was christened in it."[2]

The hermitage of Hondeshacre is now called Armitage, and the adjacent hall and village of Hondeshacre are named Handsacre. Robert de Hondesacre held the manor in the time of William I. under the Bishop of Chester. Hence, suggests Shaw, the county historian, this Robert was "probably a native Saxon, left undisturbed by the Conqueror on these sacred Church lands" (vol. i. p. 207). In the time of Henry III. Thomas de Hondesacre was manumitted for the annual payment of a pair of white gloves or one halfpenny. At this period Sir William de Hondesacre seals with a hound salient (in allusion to his name). In the time of Henry IV. Sir William de Handsacre, on his way to Shrewsbury, to fight on the side of Hotspur, met with his neighbour, Sir Robert de Malveysin, who had set out to aid the king. Each immediately marshalled his followers, and a combat ensued, in which Handsacre was slain and his men routed. Malveysin went forward to Shrewsbury field, where he was himself killed. Then comes the old, old tale: the son of the slain Handsacre marries the heiress of the slain Malvoisin, her "purparty" is handed over to him "as a recompense for the death of his father," and they lived happily ever after.[3]

At various times gifts to the church of Armitage are recorded. The lords of Hondesacre gave one parcel of ground, "of the yearly value of 11*d.*, for a lamp to be maintained in the church for ever." Roger Braggs and Robert Cokeley gave lands for other lamps in the said church (Shaw's "Staffordshire," p. 210).

Shaw's "History" gives no account of the building of the church in the twelfth century, but, as usual in the old county histories, finds that "it bears many marks of early Saxon architecture."

The old half-timbered hall of Handsacre, with its moat, still exists, but of course has undergone much change: it is now a farm-house.

It may be remarked that this midland district appears to

[2] It is not unworthy of remark that, though total immersion has been so long supplanted by the pint basin, and the proper phrase would therefore now be "christened *at* the font," the old form of words still remains, and the children are always said to be christened *in* it.

[3] "Purpars, perpars: Portio hæreditaria." Ducange.

have been peculiarly given to hermitagery in the old time. Stafford, we are told, was anciently named Bethany, "à cause d'un Berthelin, hermite, qui avoit passé là sa vie en réputation de sainteté." At Lichfield St. Chad "led an eremetical life by the side of a brook near a clear spring." Near Tamworth is a place still named the Hermitage; and near Repton we have the curious rock temple called Anchor Church (Anchoret Church). An engraving of this last is given in "The Portfolio," a serial of the brothers Storer, well known for their work on the English cathedrals.

Several village churches in the neighbourhood of Armitage offer curious memorials. Close by is Maveysin-Ridware, containing sculptured effigies of the Malvoisins of the thirteenth century. At Longdon is much good and enriched work of the twelfth century. Elford is quite a gem for monumental effigies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Alrewas has good Norman work of the twelfth century, though of plain character. To Wichnor, famous for its Flitch of Bacon tenure, I was allured by the rumour of a mediæval monument in the church; but found the building in the hands of the masons, roof bare, ceiling down, doors locked, and the men gone home for the evening. All that could be done was to catechise the old lady of the contiguous cottage. Had any ancient monuments been found in the course of the works? At first the query did not penetrate the old lady's intelligences, but by dint of repetition and more vernacular diction her mind was equal to the occasion. Yes, a monument had been found. "Ah, good! and pray tell me what was it?" "Why, it was the Lion and the Unicorn."

Fonts bearing sculptured decorations that appear to be of a purely secular character, namely, neither allusive to the baptismal rite, nor even to any sacred or hagiotypic subject, are, it is believed, of very rare occurrence. In the renovated church at Dunkeswell, Devon, near the site of the monastery founded in 1201 by William Briwere, has been preserved a cylindrical font of very grotesque fashion, having around it several figures which seem to present no sacred allusion—a king, a bishop, an armed figure, and the like, possibly representing the Sovereign, the founder of the conventual house, with certain members of his family. At Wansford, Northamptonshire, may

be seen a cylindrical font, date about 1150, around which there are eight rudely carved figures, in an arcade of round-headed compartments, presenting considerable resemblance in design to the remarkable sculptured example at Armitage. The figures apparently represent two priests, also combatants, a female and a male. The font is raised on small columns; it is enriched with beautiful foliage and other decorations of Norman type. It is remarkable that the stone cylinder has been broken at about the same part where the lower part of that in Staffordshire is severed, and the cylinder deprived of its true proportions. At Wansford the fractured base, on which are carved the lower portion of the figures, has been preserved; the entire height of the cylinder is 22 in. A good engraving of this early example may be found in Simpson's "Series of Baptismal Fonts," published in 1858.

The cylindrical type is perhaps that of most frequent occurrence in the Norman period. There are, however, certain fonts of the twelfth century, of which that in Winchester Cathedral is a familiar example, where the square form has been adopted. Each of the sides is elaborately sculptured, and it is raised upon a massive round base, with a small column at each angle. The legend of St. Nicholas of Myra supplies the subjects of the carvings introduced on the rectangular sides of the bowl. In one of the fonts of this class, closely resembling that at Winchester, but existing in Belgium, at Zedelghem, near Bruges, we find the usual incidents of the story of St. Nicholas, also monstrous lions, figures in armour, ecclesiastics, &c.[4] On one of the sides there are six figures, in pairs, a male and a female in each, separated by little columns, forming an arcade. Of these couples two are in close embrace; in the third the lady seems to be urging some request, or in grief at the departure of the gentleman. The connection of these figures with the legend of the saint is not apparent; it may possibly be found in the dramatic mystery by Hilarius, a Benedictine poet about 1125, and of English origin. Whatever may be their significance, there seems curious analogy between the Armitage figures and the amorous couples at Zedelghem. The solution of the enigma must be left for the consideration of the student of mediæval symbolism.

[4] De Caumont, Bulletin Monumental, vol. xxi., 1856, p. 471.

Original Documents.

HERBERT CHARTERS, PROBABLY RELATING TO HEREFORDSHIRE, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

The two following charters were found recently among the large collection of muniments constituting the family papers and title deeds of J. N. Carne, Esq., D.C.L., at St. Donat's Castle, in Glamorgan, and they are given here because they do not appear to relate to Wales, and because, being private deeds, they may or may not, in years to come, be accessible to any future historian of the county to which they appear to belong.

Charter by Christina Herbert, Widow, to William le Bret.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Christina Herbert dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi in legitima viduitate mea Willielmo le Bret juniori unam acram regiam et quartam partem unius acre regie, et extendit se tota dicta terra in longitudine a terra domini Hugonis de Kinardesle militis usque ad terram Ade Hurel, et in latitudine a terra Gilberti Balle usque ad terram dicte Christine. Tenendam et habendam sibi et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis de me et heredibus meis libere et quiete integre et pacifice jure hereditario in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui sex denarios ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omni servicio, querelis, exaccionibus et demandis, salvo regali servicio ad tantam terram pertinente. Pro hac autem mea donacione et concessione habenda dedit michi dictus Willielmus pre manibus quatuor marcas et dimidiam sterlingorum. Et ego Christina et heredes mei dictam terram dicto Willielmo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas tenemur warantizare. Et ut hec mea donacio et concessio firmitatis robur optineat, presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione coroboravi. Hiis testibus, Waltero Yavan, Johanne de Aula, Waltero de Bikenore, Willielmo filio Sacerdotis, Henrico de Nortone, Michaele Eli, Adam Hurel et multis aliis.

There is appended upon a label a small lump seal in green wax, with something which appears pretty certainly to be "a Peacock in his pride." The face of the seal is on the same side with the back of the deed.

Although there is no date to the deed, its appearance and style point to the reign of Edward I., and this conjecture has been confirmed by Mr. Burtt, to whom the deed was submitted, and who remarks, "The label by which the seal is appended is a strip cut from a document in a hand much resembling that of the deed. Above the seal, on this label, can be read 'est convencio inter dicto Waltero unam extendit se in longi' Below the seal may be read 'anno gratie

domini M°cc.L via que ducit de domo ' This fixes the date of the label in the latter half of the thirteenth century, probably very late in it, and from the general resemblance between the writing upon deed and label, the former may be assigned safely to the reign of Edward I. Possibly the label was cut from an unfinished deed, or one that had been put aside."

The deed is on parchment 5¼ in. by 4, in excellent condition, and the writing black and clear. Sir Hugh de Kinardesle was knight of the shire for Hereford, 35 Ed. I., and a Sir Hugh, probably his father, was sheriff 33 and 34 H. III. They seem to have been lords of Newchurch and Kinardesley, co. Hereford, and John de K. was so returned in the parliamentary writs of Ed. II. Also 20 Ed. II. Richard de K. died seised of lands in Kinardesley, and the manor of "Brugge super Wayam."

Le Bret was also a Herefordshire name. Wm. le Bret was assessor and collector for Hereford city, 22 Ed. I. The name of Bikenor points to the same county. It will be observed that the measure employed is the "royal acre."

Charter by Deonissia, Widow of William Herbert, to Nicholas le Franceis, of Lands in Brohamton.

Noverint universi hoc presens scriptum visuri vel audituri quod ego Deonissia relicta Willielmi Herebert de Brohamton remisi concessi et quiete clamavi Nicholao le Franceis de Brohamton totum jus meum et clamium quod habui vel decetero habere potero in terra quam ab eo exigi nomine dotis mee cum suis pertinentiis in campis de Brohamton, scilicet de duodecim acris terre quam predictus Nicholaus quondam emit de domino meo Willielmo Herbert jure hereditario in perpetuum. Habendum et tenendum totum predictum jus et clamium prenominatum pro me et heredibus meis omnibus prefato Nicholao et heredibus suis vel assignatis suis in perpetuum. Pro hac autem remissione concessione ac quieta clamancia mea dedit mihi predictus Nicholaus duos solidos argenti ad in mensum negocium prae manibus. Et ut hec mea remissio concessio ac mea quiete clamancio pro me et heredibus meis ac assignatis meis firma et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat, huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Willielmo Hodekenas de Brohamton, Hugo Boltusham de eadem, Thoma le Clatar de Winchecumbe, Galfrido David de Cloppell, Roberto de eadem, Waltero de Sevenhamton et aliis.

The seal is lost, nor does there remain even a friendly label to indicate a date. Still the style and writing of the deed point to the reign of Edward I. It is on parchment 7½ in. by 3, in good condition, the ink brown but clear. As the two charters are by Herbert widows, and are found in the same repository, and are evidently of about the same date, it is probable that this also relates to Herefordshire. In that county are two parishes named Brockhamton, and the other places of the name are in Hants and Warwick. Winchcombe and Sevenhampton are in the contiguous county of Gloucester, where in the Hundred rolls temp. Ed. I. appears a Nicholas Franceys, in Deerhurst Hundred.

To what family of Herbert the ladies were allied has not been discovered. The great family of that name which afterwards spread over South Wales and the border counties, had not then adopted a surname.

G. T. C.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

December 2, 1870.

Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the chair.

Major-General Lefroy, R.A., read a memoir on the discovery of a bronze plate, bearing an inscription in Runes, in Ireland. It was submitted to the meeting. This remarkable relic had been brought to light in October last, in excavations at Greenmount, Castle Bellingham, county Louth. No inscription in Runes had hitherto been found in the sister kingdom. This highly valuable memoir has been printed in the previous volume of this Journal (see vol. xxvii. p. 284).

A paper was then read, entitled as follows:—"Sir James Tyrrell, knight banneret,—was he concerned in the destruction of the Princes in the Tower, A.D. 1483? In connexion with Gipping Chapel, Suffolk." By the Rev. W. H. Sewell, M.A., whose elaborate description of the Chapel in question has been given in this volume (see p. 23, *ante*).

Mr. C. D. Fortnum, F.S.A., gave the following particulars that he had recently received from Signor R. Lanciani, at Rome, relating to investigations in the Eternal City:—"The regular and total excavation of the Forum has been commenced, to include that of the neighbouring monuments. We have 300,000 francs at disposal, and 200 good workmen. Signor Rosa has the direction of the antiquities, and immediately proposed a general plan for the excavation of all the most important ruins. We commence with the Forum Romanum, after which the Palatine, the Forum of Augustus, &c., &c.

"The Padre Mulloohy has made a most precious discovery at St. Clemente, a *Mithreum*, intact, built probably under Julian, in hatred of Christianity, at the side of the apse of the Basilica of Constantine. The mosaic roof is in imitation of a cavern. The *altare* is there; the sacred stone (*cos*), an *ara*, with the usual mystic bas-relief, a statue of Mithras; the niches for the genii, also the division set apart for the initiated, &c.

"Near Genzano the remains of the Temple of Diana Nemorense, with many inscriptions, have been discovered; one of the inscriptions contains the whole inventory of the objects of the Sacristy (*di Sacristia*), a most interesting document, and which affords precious details of the worship of that divinity, who, as it would seem from these records, was no other than the *Bubastes* of the Greco-Egyptians."

The Very Rev. Canon Rock, D.D., offered some observations explanatory of the subject and details of a remarkable mural painting lately

brought to light in the north aisle of the church of Starston, Norfolk, and of which a coloured representation was sent by the Ven. Archdeacon of Norwich, Rector of Starston, through the Rev. James Lee Warner. A short notice by Mr. Phipson, of Ipswich, on this discovery, accompanied by a chromo-lithograph of the painting, has been published in a recent number of the Transactions of the Norfolk Archæological Society. The details of the subject, representing apparently a group around the death-bed or funeral bier of some saintly personage, may there be seen, as reproduced from a drawing by Mr. C. J. Winter, of Norwich. During the addition of a north aisle, and the demolition of part of the wall, five low Norman windows were brought to light. It appears that about 1380 the walls had been raised, and the present semi-flamboyant windows inserted. The painting was on the north wall of the nave, within an arched recess, the sides and upper part of which were decorated with rough arabesques. The recess had been walled up with rubble. The plaster on which the painting was executed was barely an eighth of an inch in thickness, and it was not possible to remove or transfer it to canvas or the like. No burial-place was found within or under the recess, but about a yard in front of it, and a foot under the pavement, was found a slightly-coped coffin-slab, narrowed towards the foot, carved with a gradated cross, in fashion resembling such as are assigned to the fourteenth century. Some bones lay beneath the slab, without any trace of a coffin. Dr. Rock has in preparation for this Journal a detailed memoir on the remarkable subject of this painting. The following communication, subsequently received from the Archdeacon, gives more full particulars of the discovery :—

"I hear that the mural painting discovered last year in Starston Church has excited considerable interest at the meetings of the Institute, and may probably be the subject of further discussion. As I am unable to be present at your meeting, I am desirous to give a few details, which may possibly throw light on some obscure points. I can perhaps give these details with more exactness than others, as I saw the painting the day after it was disclosed. It was not seen by Mr. Winter and our archæological friends from Norwich until some days afterwards, when the colours and the sharpness of the outlines had somewhat faded. With regard to the supposed shield, charged with a bearing *Fretty*, I do not think that it was a shield. It seemed more like a wallet or basket of crossed wicker-work, such as might be used for holding spices and materials for embalming. In the legend on the scroll or girdle the letters were thirteen; the first three, PRO, and the last five, MARIA (or MARIE), were perfectly distinct; there can be no question as to these. The five intermediate letters were indistinct, and partly injured by the point of the pick-axe; they appeared to me to form the word CERNE; and, if there were such a word in mediæval Latin as *procerne*, equivalent to *decerne*, "decide," I should have said that the inscription was *Procerne Maria*—Decide Thou, O Mary. The letters, however, were so broken and faded that it is impossible to speak with certainty. Only the number of the letters was clear. Other conjectures that have occurred to me are, that the words might be *Protesta* MARIA—bear witness, or *Procinct* (or *Procincta*) MARIE—the girdle of Mary. My friend Mr. Lee Warner tells me that Mr. J. G. Waller supposes the dots after the PROCE to represent the divisions of words, so that the inscription

might be—Prece : tua : Maria—with reference, I presume, to the legend of S. Mary Magdalene and the Prince of Provence. But there were no such divisional dots in the original ; and those appearing in the drawing simply represent the fragments of a letter which was illegible.

"The crown or coronet on the head of the figure with clasped hands was more of a crown and less of a head-dress than is represented in Mr. Winter's drawing, which, on the whole, is admirably executed. The nude figure borne up to the clouds was drawn in severe outline, without anything that could denote the sex. Lastly, the object which the veiled figure holds in her hand was a box or vase, as I believe, and not a book, as the artist considered it to be.

"If I may give my own conjecture as to the subject, I believe it to be the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary ; and that the particular mode of treating it is derived from a story of the 'Assumption of our Lady,' given in an early poem, published in 1866 by the 'Early English Text Society,' to which my attention was called by Archdeacon Groome, to whom I am indebted for much of this explanation.

"In it the Apostles are described as being all assembled at the death of the Virgin Mary, with the exception of St. Thomas. They bear her body to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and deposit it in a tomb :—

> The Apostles wente forthe on there way
> To Josephat to that valay;
> When the Apostles come were,
> Wel softe thei setten down the beere,
> With gret devocioun every one
> Thei leide the bodi in a stone,
> And bileft alle in that stede
> As oure Ladi hadde them bede.

They return to Jerusalem, and suddenly St. Thomas arrives from India. They reproach him for his characteristic absence, especially SS. Peter and John :—

> When he them sawe he gret them,
> And thei answered alle hym,
> And seiden, 'Thomas of Ynde
> Ever art thou bihynde.
> Where hast thou so longe bene?
> We have buried hevene quene.'

To appease their anger he relates how the Virgin had appeared to him in a bodily form as he was on his journey, and, as a testimony to his words, produces a girdle, which he had received from her, and which they recognize as one that they had buried with her. To ascertain the truth of this, they determined to return to the valley,—

> Go we swithe to the vale
> To witt the sothe of this tale,
> That he has us here yseide;
> For *it* was in the tumbe ylaide.

They open the tomb, but find nothing therein, only a flower 'manna yclepid.'

"Is not this the story of the painting?

"The scene is the Valley of Jehoshaphat : the tomb is opened, and the body of the Blessed Virgin is found to be taken up. To the left stands St. Thomas holding the girdle, the testimony of Mary ; before him with

outstretched hands is St. Peter, who had been 'chiding' him, but now gazes on the girdle; at his side, behind, the youthful St. John. The veiled figure is St. Mary Magdalene with the box of ointment; behind her the other Apostles and others of their company. There remains the crowned figure. I can only hazard a conjecture as to this. It may represent St. Margaret, to whom the church is dedicated, though none of her emblems are there; or, more probably, as I fancy, St. Etheldreda, the Princess of East Anglia, whose monastery of Ely possessed property in Starston and the adjoining parish of Pulham, in the time of the Confessor and the Norman kings. If the original painter of the fresco was a monk of Ely, may he not have introduced into that holy company his own patroness saint?"

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.—An implement of flint, of unusual fashion, found as described, in a barrow on the Sussex Downs, near Worthing, a few years since, when several of these deposits were examined, and their contents formed part of a temporary museum at Worthing, that had been dispersed and some of the objects sold. On careful comparison with implements of like character in the Christy collection, Mr. Franks had pointed out only one of somewhat similar type. That exhibited measures about 3 in. in each direction, its thickness being 1¼ in. It bears some resemblance to a portion of one of the larger implements of the drift series, truncated at its lower extremity. The original fashion of this rare type is uncertain.

By Mr. C. Sprengel Greaves, Q.C.—A small vase found accompanying a human skeleton, in an *amphora* disinterred in the Troad.

By Mr. Robert Canton, through Mr. James Yates.—Plan and lithograph, representing a mosaic pavement lately found in London, near the Mansion House, and now deposited at the Guildhall.

By Major-Gen. Lefroy, R.A.—A small bronze plate, elaborately enriched on one side with interlaced riband-work, inlaid with silver; on the other side there is an inscription in Runes. Found in Greenmount, Castle Bellingham, Ireland. It is figured in this Journal, vol. xxvii. p. 295.

By the Rev. J. Tillard, Rector of Conington, Huntingdonshire.—A small enamelled figure, in relief, probably of the work of Limoges, in the thirteenth century. It may have been attached to a shrine or *cofra Lemovicensis*, used for containing relics or sacred objects, and mostly in form of a chapel with a steep-ridged roof. It probably represents an Apostle holding a book of the Gospels. It was found in the wall of the chancel of Conington church.

By Mr. James E. Nightingale.—A small brass box, with a cover attached by a small hinge; at the opposite side there is a fastening ingeniously contrived. The upper surface of the lid is ornamented with small concentric circles arranged in the form of a cross; there is also a series of the like little circles around the margin. Within, there is a small brass cup that exactly fits the box, and, as it has been conjectured, may have held several more, fitting one within the other, and forming a nest of weights. The weight of the box is 2 oz. ½ dr.; the weight of the little cup-shaped weight within it, 1 oz. ½ dr. The fashion and proportions of this box are shown in the woodcut (original

size; Arch. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 75), representing a similar object found at Lincoln, at a depth of 8 or 10 ft., with Roman and other remains, and exhibited by the late Mr. Philip Brockedon in the museum of the Institute during the meeting in that city in 1848 (Arch. Journ., vol. vi. p. 71). Two, of like fashion, were in possession of the late Dr. Mantell, having been found in the Priory grounds, Lewes. It was conjectured that they might have contained chrism, or possibly some of the pigments used by the monks. They are figured in the "Archaeologia," vol. xxxi. p. 437, and in Dr. Mantell's "Day's Ramble in Lewes," p. 144. Another specimen, of rather larger dimensions (diam. 2 in.), is preserved in the Warrington Museum; it was found in digging near Bewsey Hall, and presented to the museum by Mr. Joseph Perrin. The lower portion of a similar object, of like dimensions as that last mentioned, was found, as stated, at Newhaven, Sussex, with relics ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period. This specimen is of somewhat thicker metal than the others; it has six vertical ribs and two projecting pieces for attachment of the lid, now lost. This object is figured in Jewitt's "Grave-mounds," p. 286. Archdeacon Trollope brought under our notice a box of similar description, found at Little Humby, Lincolnshire (Arch. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 75).

The little box in Mr. Nightingale's possession was found carefully concealed in the middle of the chancel wall, at Dean, Wilts, when the building was demolished, a few years since. It has been regarded as a *pyx*, for some purpose connected with ritual uses. Many Roman relics, Mr. Nightingale observed, have lately been dug up in the neighbourhood of Dean.

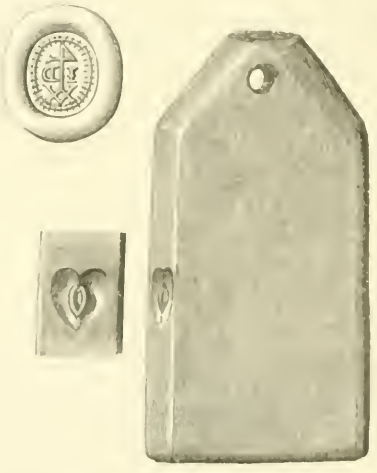
By Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan.—Grant of a messuage and one plough-land, with appurtenances, in the vill of Akynton, by John Grimelon to John his son, and his heirs, to hold from the lord in chief of the fee by performance of accustomed services; with warranty. In witness whereof he had affixed his seal. These being witnesses:—William Meveral of Edesle, Richard Spigornel of Hethe, Madoc ap David, Richard Kireth of Akynton, Richard de Prey, clerk, and others. Dated at Doddington, on Monday next after the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, 7th Edw. III. (28th March, 1333). Mr. 'Geoghegan observed that we find many places called Doddington in various parts of England; the name occurs twice in Lincolnshire, also in Northumberland, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Somerset, and near Nantwich, in Cheshire. From the name of one of the witnesses—Madoc ap David—he was inclined to think that the last might be the locality to which the grant relates, and requested information from any member of the Institute conversant with the topography of the Palatinate.

There can be little doubt, however, that the Doddington in question is the southern part of the town of Whitchurch, Shropshire,[1] and occurring, with the adjacent vills of Alkynton and Edisley (now called Edgeley), as annexed to the Barony of Wem. Alkington Hall, about 2 miles distant from Whitchurch, the Alchetune of Domesday, may probably indicate the position of the spot where John Grimelon held the messuage and lands granted by him to his son. Of the witnesses to his charter, William Meverel was of a family frequently named in con-

[1] Eyton, Antiq. of Shropshire, vol. ix. p. 194.

nection with the Barons of Wem, and occurring at Edgeley, the Edeskai of Domesday. Of Richard Spigornel no trace has been found; he is described as of Hethe, a name that occurs in evidences relating to these parts of Shropshire, the district south of Whitchurch being mostly heath. A Madoc ap David was Rector of Kinnesley, Salop, in the reign of Henry III.;[2] and we find Richard de Prez, clerk, with his wife Alice, holding lands in Sandford in 1332.[3]

By Dr. Boyd, M.D.—A small object of dark-coloured stone, supposed to be a goldsmith's touchstone, of the sixteenth century. It was given to Dr. Boyd by the late Mr. Perry, Inspector of Prisons, by whom it had been obtained during one of his official visits in the West of England. The peculiar fashion and dimensions of the stone, and also of the devices engraved upon it, are accurately shown by the accompanying woodcuts. It will be seen that one end of the stone is bevelled off to a small oval face, on which is engraved a "merchant's mark," with the initials, doubtless,



Goldsmith's touch stone, of black marble, presented by Dr Boyd to the British Museum (original size).

of the owner of the supposed touchstone. It has been supposed that these letters are not inverted in the intaglio, as if intended for sealing, and that they should be read ID, not CI, as they may be read on the impression. It may be noticed that the triangular appendage surmounting the central shaft, and giving to it the appearance of the numeral 4, is usually turned towards the left; in many devices of this class, however, it is turned to the right, as may be seen in examples of Norwich merchant marks by Mr. W. C. Ewing, figured in Norfolk Archæology, vol. iii. p. 177. It will be there seen that initials introduced in the field of the device are mostly, but not invariably, those of the person by whom it was used. The material of the stone exhibited by Dr. Boyd has been pronounced by Professor Maskelyn to be black marble, a calcareous stone, obviously unsuitable for the purposes of the present time, when the use of aqua

[2] Eyton, Antiq. of Shrop., vol. ix. p. 183. The name was probably derived from [illegible]

[3] Ibid., vol. xi. p. 28; vol. ix. p. 234. Prees, a small town south of Whitchurch

fortis is generally adopted. In former days, as we are informed by Mr. Octavius Morgan, the usual mode of testing gold was with a set of touch-needles, or small bars of metal of various alloys, and by comparing the colour of the gold tested by rubbing it on the touch-stone, with that of the needles; for this any black stone of suitable grain would answer the desired purpose. The present practice is to wash the stone with the acid, which dissolves the copper or silver of the alloy, leaving the gold pure, and thus showing the quantity of the precious metal. The substance preferred is basalt, or black hard jasper; a fragment of black Wedgwood ware forms an excellent touchstone. Mr. Octavius Morgan has given an excellent description of the modes of testing the precious metals in his Memoir on the Assay Marks on Plate, Archæological Journal, vol. ix. p. 127. The test by needles of ascertained alloys is the ancient practice mentioned by Pliny. The existence of ancient examples of the appliances of the goldsmith's craft is comparatively rare, and it is gratifying to learn that Dr. Boyd has presented to the British Museum the curious little relic that had fallen into his hands. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there are, as we learn from Sir W. R. Wilde (Catal. Mus. R. S. A., p. 11), several objects formed of Lydian stone, and suited for testing the purity of gold; there are, however, several apparently serving no other purpose than that of touchstones, that are of quite a different material. The *Lapis Lydius*, as we know, was obtained from Ireland; it is designated as *Lapis Hibernicus* by De Boot in 1647. Thomas Nicols, in his "Lapidary," 1652, notices various marbles used for touchstones; the black, called *Lapis index*, *Basanus*, &c., commonly used in pavements and tombs; the material of which, according to Rulandus, the tomb of the Elector Maurice was formed; also the Italian green-marble called *Viridello*, and other substances suited for goldsmiths' uses. In the remarkable crannoge, in co. Cavan, explored in 1860 by Sir W. R. Wilde, as related in the Proceedings of the R. I. Academy, a flat touchstone of red jasper for testing gold, length $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, was found on the estates of Lord Farnham. It was accompanied by numerous appliances of industrial and domestic use, implements of stone, pottery, &c. Some further remarks on the touchstone presented by Dr. Boyd to the British Museum may be found in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, second series, vol. v. p. 51.

By Mr. H. F. Holt.—A collection of ancient candle-holders and candlesticks, chiefly examples obtained on the Continent, about thirty in number. One of them, probably of the thirteenth century, is a tripod of iron, with three small candle-holders. The series closed with specimens of the seventeenth century.

By Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., F.S.A.—A watch curiously enamelled on the face and back with religious subjects, the Resurrection, Final Judgment, and Eternity; the gilt metal case is minutely engraved all over with scriptural texts and references applying to the same. Date, end of last century; the maker, Taylor, London. The regulator points, for fast, to a hare; and, for slow, to a snail. It is capped and jewelled, and very well made.

By Sir John Maclean, F.S.A.—A collection of clocks and watches, showing curious mechanical construction, and progress in the art of horology.—1. Table clock in an ebony pedestal case, surmounted by a gilt figure of S. Sebastian bound to a tree, in bronze, and pierced with

arrows. Made about the year 1750, by Johann George Holzapfel, in Kulbach. Strikes the hours. Striking work with "going barrel," and the going work with "fuse and chain." It has a decorated silver dial.—2. Table clock, set in an ebony box or case, decorated with silver mountings, whereon reclines a female figure, in ormolu, holding a globe engraved with curious devices, around which is the index of time. When the clock strikes, the figure moves its head and the hand, by which with a pointer it indicates the time. The figure is surrounded by a gallery of ormolu and silver. The clock is worked by "going barrels" with perforated sides, and was made by Paul Schiller. No place or date. Date about 1600.—3. Oval clock-watch, having a metal gilt outer case, the inner case being perforated and engraved, showing the last hour struck on back of works. The front of the case is perforated with the letters I.H.S., and the time is seen through the perforation. It has a silver dial, engraved and enamelled in various colours with birds and foliage. Has "going barrels;" all the wheels, barrels and pinions, unlike most watches, are of *steel*. Date, not later than 1670.—4. A very fine octagon-shaped watch, with rock-crystal case, in silver gilt mounting, fine old silver dial, showing the moon's age, and the day of the month, as well as the time. Works with "fusee and gut," and goes twelve hours. No "hair spring" or "centre wheel." No maker's name. Date about 1620. —5. Oval clock-watch in gilt case, pierced on the side with scroll-work. Face finely engraved with scroll-work flowers, and stamped on the front of the pendant 174. Dial, a silver circle with roman numerals 1½ in. in diameter. Striking part worked by a "going barrel," and the going part with "fusee and gut." Has no "hair spring" or "centre wheel;" goes twelve hours. It bears a trade mark, with the initials D.S.; no maker's name.—6. Antique oval clock-watch and alarum, in metal gilt case, with pierced border, ornamented in scroll-work of foliage, hares, pheasants, &c. Pendant on each side enriched with a figure of a cherubim. On the inside of case cover is a compass and a sun dial. Dial very richly engraved with arabesque figures and foliage, hares, &c. Dial shows the hours in Roman numerals, and has points for feeling the time in the dark. It has also an indicator for the alarum. Striking part works with a "going barrel," pierced in scroll-work, to which is affixed the "great wheel." The alarum works are entirely of steel, with the exception of the great wheel. The "going" work is "fusee and gut." Has no "centre wheel." Has had "hair spring" and "regulator added." Maker, Dollant, Paris. No date: about 1560.—7. Antique oval watch in cut glass case, set in silver, ornamented with beading, probably later than the watch. Face richly engraved in scroll-work, ornamented above with figures of angels, and beneath with Leda and Jupiter. Dial has Roman numerals, and within the index has an architectural engraving. Has one hand only in blue steel, and of modern workmanship. Going part "fusee and gut," without "centre wheel" or "hair spring." Maker, J. Fieret à Montpellier. No date: about 1660.—8. Large old repeater silver clock-watch and alarum, in an outer metal case covered with fish skin, and mounted in silver; inner case of silver perforated, with swivel pendant; silver dial 3½ in. in diameter; shews the hours and minutes, the former in Roman numerals, and the latter in Arabic. The alarum on a small index within the others, with Arabic numerals. The hands of blue steel, modern, but made to match the period of the watch. Striking and

alarum have "going barrels" engraved; the going part has "fusee and chain." The "scape cock" is richly engraved; repeats the hours, quarters, and half-quarters. Maker, Miroir, London. No date—about 1720.—9. Modern watch in double metal gilt case. Has an astronomical dial, 2¼ in. in diameter, showing the state of the tides at various places on the English coasts, &c.

February 3, 1871.

Sir Edward Smirke, late Vice-Warden of the Stannaries, in the Chair.

Mr. Burtt read "Notes on some Mediæval Methods of Depositing Documents," printed at p. 133 of this volume.

The Rev. W. Iago, of Bodmin, gave an account of the discovery of a "skippet" in the old church chest at Bodmin, in the parvise of the church, where the church and borough archives used to be preserved. Its use was quite unknown, and it was at first supposed to have been intended for the preservation of the wafer used in the administration of the sacrament. Having been put into communication with Mr. Burtt, he found, to his surprise, that the little box was identical with those called "skippets" by the late Sir Francis Palgrave, in his Account of the Treasury of the Exchequer, and also with those existing in the muniment room of the Abbey of Westminster. He had now no doubt whatever that the Bodmin example had been similarly used, viz., for the deposit of small documents, but the word "skippet" had now a meaning in Cornwall which would not apply to such a box of turned wood. Its modern application was to a small box or tray constructed at the end of a chest near the top, and made moveable, so as to slide or lift in and out by a groove or on ledges. Mr. Iago also exhibited a circular case or box of *cuir bouilli*, found at the Rectory of Lanivet, near Bodmin, and which might have been used for the deposit of documents, or some object of household plate or ornament (see p. 138). It was now used for holding the sacramental plate. Mr. Iago then drew attention to the remarkable example of an ivory casket of early date, which, by the permission of the Corporation of Bodmin, he had been able to bring before the meeting. It is the reliquary mentioned by Abbot Benedict, as having been used in the year 1177 for enclosing the crumbling bones of St. Petroc (the founder of Bodmin Priory, who had died at Bodmin in 564), when Prior Roger recovered them from Brittany, whither they had been taken when they were stolen from the shrine before the high altar. The casket is composed of thin slabs of ivory, of unusually large size, rivetted with the same material, and clamped and banded with metal. Only the bottom of the case is of wood. The surface of the ivory is polished and adorned with birds, foliage, and cruciform rosettes within circles, in gold and colours. The metal work is enriched at the angles with heads of a conventional type, decidedly Mauresque in character. In the collection at South Kensington he had met with two or three examples of such cases, much resembling that from Bodmin, and Mr. Robinson, through whose agency they had been acquired, informed him that during his researches in the south of Europe he had met with other caskets of the same character, all used as reliquaries, and some still containing the bones originally deposited in them.

Mr. Talbot Bury made some remarks upon the ornamentation of the casket, which was of a decidedly foreign type.[4]

Sir John Maclean and the Chairman also contributed some observations upon the subject, and the latter conveyed the cordial thanks of the meeting to Mr. Iago for the pains he had taken in securing the exhibition of the casket and other objects, and his excellent account of them.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. Burtt.—A "Coffin" of the fourteenth century, from the Public Record Office, used for the deposit of documents relating to the ransom of King David Bruce. It is of oak, painted, and illuminated with shields of arms, and inscribed "Hic continentur obligaciones super deliberacione et redempcione domini David Brus die iij. mensis Octobris." It is engraved at the end of the preface to the "Ancient Kalendars and Inventories" of the Exchequer, printed for the late Record Commission.—A "hanaper of twyggys," used for the deposit of documents, tempore Richard II. It is round, formed of split twigs of willow, plaited over small rods of the same, with an interior diameter of 11 in. by 6 in. in depth, with a lid lapping over the edge, and fastened loosely to the hanaper.[5]—Specimen of a "leather forcer, bound with iron," of the fourteenth century. It is figured at p. 96 of "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey" (2nd edition).—"Skippets" and leathern pouches, used for the deposit of documents, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The "skippets" are not inscribed with their contents, but the pouches have a very full description written upon them.



Size 7¼ in. by 5 in.; 3 in. deep.

By Mr. Addington, through the Rev. W. J. Loftie. A leathern case, ornamented with decorated foliations and other work, used for a missal,

[4] A representation of this remarkably interesting object is given in Sir John Maclean's History of Trigg Minor, vol. i. p. 241. We have great satisfaction in stating that the Society of Antiquaries intend to publish a beautifully illustrated account of this casket, the only one of the kind which is known to be connected with the traditions of our country.

[5] See plate II at the end of the preface to the 'Ancient Kalendars and Inventories' for the "hanaper" 3 Richard II. containing deeds relating to Berkhampstead, precisely similar in construction to the larger example exhibited.

and made in or about 1470 for Belondo de St. Biaxio, a citizen of Bologna.—It bears on one side the name "Belond," on the other "Ave Mar" and the sudarium of St. Veronica, with I. H. S. The missal is a fine manuscript on vellum, headed "Officium Beate Marie Virginis secundum consuetudinem Romane Curie cum calendario." It is ornamented with initial letters, a painting of the Crucifixion, and five small miniatures executed in gold and colours, bound in green velvet, with gilt edges and silver clasp.

By Sir John Maclean, F.S.A.—A manuscript in the handwriting of Peter Le Neve, containing abstracts of deeds relating chiefly to lands in Devon, with many sketches of seals of arms.

By Mr. H. F. Holt.—Two small silver statuettes of "Strolling Minstrels," forming the handles for a knife and fork, Dutch, seventeenth century.—Their principal interest consists in their having belonged to the artist "Bartholomeus van der Helst," whose initials they bear. He was born, as is generally known, at Haarlem in 1613, and died in 1670 at Amsterdam, in which city some of his most celebrated works are to be found. They were obtained from the collection of the late Mr. Apostool, who, from 1808 to 1844, was director of the picture gallery at Amsterdam.

By Mr. W. H. Tregellas.—Gold and silver Roman coins found at Great Allington Manor, near Southampton, the estate of Robert Palmer, Esquire.

7.	Arcadius	gold	1
	do.	silver	2 and fragments
4.	—Gratianus	silver	4
3.	—Valens	silver	8 and fragments
6.	—Magnus Maximus	silver	1 and fragments
5.	—Theodosius II.	silver	3
8.	—Honorius	silver	13 and fragments
1.	—Julianus II.	silver	6 and fragments
2.	—Valentinianus	silver	2
	Uncertain; about the time of Gratianus and Honorius	silver	8 and fragments
			47

They were found in a vessel of coarse earthenware (of which small pieces were shown), about 7 in. high and 5 in. wide, found by a labourer employed in deepening a ditch, at about 2 or 3 ft. below the surface. The site of the discovery lies about midway between the two Roman roads to Winchester, leading the one from Bittern (Clausentum), and the other from Porchester.

Articles of Indian and Esquimaux manufacture, from the Hudson's Bay Territory. They are of modern workmanship, and comprised numerous objects for domestic use, and some weapons of war.

March 3, 1871.

Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P. and V.P., in the chair.

The Chairman expressed his regret at the absence of the Hon. Secre-

tary in consequence of domestic affliction. Mr. Morgan exhibited a pair of small crystal cups, such as are represented in MSS. of the 14th and 15th centuries; a ring with monogram of Frederick the Great in rubies and diamonds, and other rings. The Rev. W. H. Bathurst exhibited numerous objects of the Roman period found at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire. The Chairman observed that the site of this great discovery had been carefully covered up and thus preserved. Numerous other objects had been found besides those exhibited, including many large heavy iron implements. It seemed as though the settlement had been suddenly destroyed by fire while in the Roman occupation, or possibly the instant the Romans left the natives rose and destroyed all visible traces of their occupation of the country. This might account for the blank in history between the Roman and Saxon periods.

Mr. H. F. Holt read "Observations upon the Mural Painting lately discovered at Starston Church, Norfolk." Assuming that the lithographic copy of the painting was well known, he would proceed to consider its interpretation. Differing from those who had hitherto attempted that task, he passed their *dicta* in review:—That the painting represented a ceremony in the chamber of a deceased person, probably buried under an incised slab found close by:—That the lady in question might have belonged to the "Neville" family;—That the angels represented in the picture were bearing away the soul of the deceased. All the commentators differed about a so-called heraldic shield said to be in the painting, whilst Mr. Holt altogether denied its existence, and dissented from the conclusions generally arrived at. Within his knowledge the "soul" is always represented in a spiritual, ethereal, or immaterial manner. Examples of such treatment are in the east window of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, and in Fairford church, Gloucestershire. Other examples were also referred to, showing the soul to be always represented in close proximity to the body, as being void of materiality. In the Starston painting in lieu of the spirituality of the soul, we have the gravity of the body; instead of the ethereal nature of the spirit, there is the substantiality of the flesh, in addition to an evident sense of insecurity, inasmuch as the ascending figure not only needs the support of the angels by the winding-sheet, but a careful steadying to keep it upright, and prevent its gravitating to the earth. Neither is there any instance of the representation of a dead body in a picture to which the supposed spirit could have belonged.

Dr. Husenbeth's theory that the picture represents the death of the Virgin Mary Mr. Holt also rejected, as he maintained that there is *no bed*, no *dead person*, no *St. Paul*, and no St. John in the picture. He then gave the generally received legend of the death of the Virgin. Tested by that description the Starston picture could never be thought to represent that event. In the royal collection at Kensington, in a woodcut by Albert Durer, in a picture of his at Vienna, and in other examples representing the death of the Virgin, a rigid adherence to this legend has been plainly shown, with very slight variations. And in a triptych of the 16th century, which Mr. Holt exhibited, the details of the legend are displayed; St. John holding the palm branch, St. Peter placing the cierge in the Virgin's hand, and another Apostle holding the *situla* with the holy water. Mr. Holt thought that the Starston painting represented the double legend of the "Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," and the further

"Incredulity of St. Thomas." The upper portion of the picture exhibits the bodily ascension of the Virgin in an attitude of benediction, supported by angels—that vision being especially revealed to the unbelieving Thomas, to whom a distinct proof was personally given. In the lower part, on the left of the painting, stands the Saint at the head of the empty tomb of the Virgin, overwhelmed with surprise at the vision, and the substantive evidence of its reality which he holds in his right hand, and towards which Timothy is pointing in terms of reproach to Thomas as proof of *his* weakness, and of the overwhelming truth which has amazed the faithful. Between them and rather in the background is Dionysius the Areopagite. Behind Timothy is a youthful attendant who looks on with astonishment at the scene passing before him. Near him stands Mary Salomé, wearing a coronal ornament on her head, and regarding with sympathetic affection the sorrowing Mary Cleophas—in immediate attendance on whom are her waiting-maids, Servia and Seraphia—whilst the right of the picture is occupied by a crowd of people, one of whom vainly directs her eyes towards the expanse of heaven, in which the Blessed Virgin is confessed to have been seen by Thomas. The correctness of this interpretation might be tested by reference to the legends of the Romish church. The legend proceeds to declare that "this resurrection was witnessed by Dionysius the Areopagite, Timothy, the holy women—Mary Salomé, Mary Cleophas, and her faithful servant Servia;" the other female being in all probability the "Seraphia" mentioned by Dr. Husenbeth.

The legend, variously read "Precor te Maria" and "Pro te Rña Maria," on the girdle of the Virgin, called a scroll, was intended by the artist to explain the picture, and was probably "Procedente Maria." Mr. Holt concluded with some notices of Art representations of the Assumption and the Incredulity of St. Thomas, and commented on the minor details of the painting.

Considerable discussion followed the reading of this paper. Mr. Waller differed from Mr. Holt. He thought it by no means unusual to find representations of the soul conveyed to heaven in a winding-sheet. He believed the painting to represent the death of St. Mary Magdalene, and read an abstract of a legend which bore out that idea, and which accorded with the practice of ecclesiastical art. He thought the inscription might have been "Prece tua Maria," the word "obtinuisti" being understood. Dr. Rock objected to Mr. Holt's theory as to the use of the nimbus round the head of our Saviour as shown in the Fairford windows. He exhibited a piece of English embroidery of the 13th century, showing the fleur-de-lis in the nimbus treated precisely as in those windows. Professor Westmacott did not quite agree with Mr. Holt or Mr. Waller. He thought the Starston picture represented the decease of some illustrious lady, and gave several references to classical and mediæval writers and illuminated MSS. in support of his argument.

A letter was read from Mr. Aldridge, of Newington Butts, calling attention to the threatened destruction of "Cæsar's Camp" at Wimbledon. A protest was recommended to the consideration of the Council.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Chairman.—A pair of small crystal cups raised on feet, which fit together, after the manner of those of silver gilt, which are

seen represented on cupboards and sideboards in illuminated manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, end of sixteenth or early seventeenth century.—A ring, bearing as a bezel the monogram of Frederick the Great in rubies and diamonds, between two small gold letters—E. L.; a present possibly from Frederick the Great to some lady, as indicated by the small size of the ring—probably about 1750.—A small ring, the bezel consisting of a box, on the lid of which is set an enamelled carnival half mask, with diamond eyes. On the cheek of the face is a black patch in the form of a crescent. Mr. Morgan wished to ascertain the meaning and uses of these rings, which are not very uncommon; also the country.—Memorial ring, bezel large, having in centre under crystal the monogram F. W. or F. A. W. carved in ivory, the whole set in paste; middle of last century.—Memorial ring, bezel large, formed of a faded imitative garnet, thereon the interlaced cypher I. S. in marcassites—the whole set in marcassites; date, the latter half of last century.

By Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum.—A plaque of Delft ware, belonging to the Rev. J. Fleetwood Porter, of St. Ann's, Dropmore, to whom it has descended from his mother's family, the Fleetwoods. The belief among them is, that it came to them from their ancestor, General Fleetwood, who was Lord Deputy in Ireland under Cromwell, whose eldest daughter, Ireton's widow, he married, and who died in 1692. But as General Fleetwood was a zealous Puritan, and his wife as strong a republican, it is hardly probable that they would have owned a portrait of the King, whose death-warrant he had signed. Supposing it to be of that period, which is quite likely, it may, with greater probability, have belonged to one of the other daughters, Lady Fauconberg or Lady Rich, both of whom were thought to have Royalist tendencies, and from them, or their descendants, it may have reverted to the family of the elder sister, and so descended to Mr. Porter. The faïence on which it is painted is believed to be of the Delft manufacture. The plaque is oval, with a raised border or framing, which is ornamented with interlacings of strapwork and foliation, painted, as is the portrait, in rich cobalt blue on the white ground; the glaze and general technical quality, and the execution of the painting, are superior. The piece has a mark on the back, thus—HI, which may be intended for the combined letters I and H, or H crossed by ⊨ (Ter Himpelen?).

By the Rev. William Hiley Bathurst, M.A.—A large collection of Roman antiquities, found some years ago at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire; also numerous drawings of other relics, diagrams, ground-plans, and illustrations of the discoveries then made. These objects are of very great interest. They were obtained in the course of excavations of an extensive Roman villa and other buildings, within an ancient encampment of oblong form, on a considerable elevation, about 1½ mile distant from the Severn. The researches on that site commenced about 1806, under the direction of the late Right Hon. Charles Bragge Bathurst, at that time proprietor of the estate. Numerous portions of tesselated pavements were uncovered, including one that presents a remarkable inscription, the subject of much antiquarian discussion. Of all these valuable remains careful drawings were taken from time to time by members of the Bathurst family, but they have been only partially published, although they have attracted the attention of several distinguished antiquaries, such as Lysons, Sir

Samuel Meyrick, the venerable historian of Cheshire Dr. Ormerod, and Dr. McCaul, of Toronto. In this extensive assemblage of Roman relics, of which a considerable number were, by Mr. Bathurst's kindness, brought for the gratification of the Institute, there are numerous ornaments of bronze,—a miniature bust, a greyhound lying down, a statuette of Victory standing on a globe, a series of objects of bronze and base silver, supposed to be surgical instruments, probes, *volsellæ*, *spatulæ*, &c., a diminutive axe of bronze, possibly an *ex voto*, combs, and other objects of bone, a bronze *stilus*, many fragments of glass beads, a ring of jet; also pottery, spoons, votive objects, chains, keys, an iron spear head, ringed armour, and other relics in great variety. Mr. Bathurst placed also before the meeting a relic of very rare description, a small tablet or stamp of greenish grey stone, such as were used by empirics and oculists in Roman times, for the purpose of marking the various nostrums vended by them. It bears inscriptions on three of its sides, mentioning certain salves prepared by the oculist Julius Secundus, namely, his *Collyrium Melinum*, and two other salves, described as *Stactum* and *Penicillum*. These inscriptions were figured in this Journal in 1856 (see vol. xiii. p. 282), where further particulars regarding an object of such uncommon occurrence were given by Mr. Franks, and also by the late Sir James Simpson in the Monthly Journal of Medical Science (vol. xii. p. 338). It would, however, be out of place to offer here any detailed list of the curious objects exhibited, as the whole of the antiquities found at Lydney will be fully illustrated in a volume, now in preparation, by Mr. Bathurst, in which it is proposed to give ground-plans, both of the principal building, comprising not less than sixty-five chambers, many of them furnished with hypocausts, mosaic pavements, and the like, and also of a remarkable detached structure, supposed to have been a temple. The inscriptions have been given in the Transactions of the Institute at the Bristol meeting, p. 62; and notices of the various discoveries on Mr. Bathurst's estates may be found in the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. ii. p. 389; Archæologia, vol. v. p. 20, vol. x. p. 133; also in Lysons' Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. ii., where many of the minor objects are figured.

Mr. Bathurst brought also for inspection a silver chalice and paten, found, about 1850, behind the panelling of an old house at Lydney, with devotional books of the times of Charles II. These sacred vessels appeared to be of the latter part of the seventeenth century, and of foreign workmanship; there are no assay marks.

By Mr. W. Simpson.—Drawings of Gallo-Roman tombs in the Vosges district, of which a fuller account will be given in a later portion of this Journal.—Russian cross of brass, sixteenth century, with an inscription, from the monastery of Rostofin.

By Mr. J. Yates, F.R.S.—Four early printed books:—

1. "Durandi Rationale Divinorum Officiorum," folio, in Roman characters, the capitals painted in colours with some gilding. The statement at the end of the volume states that it was printed at Rome by the Venerable Master George Laur de Herpipoli (*i.e.*, Würtzburg in Bavaria) in the year 1477. There is a still older edition, which sells at a still higher price than this, but is exceedingly rare.

2. Ubertinus de Casali, "Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ Jesu," 4to., in Roman characters, vacant spaces left for the capitals, which have been inserted in a few places. The statement at the end says, "Impressus Venetiis

per Andream de Bonettis de Papia, Anno M·CCCC·LXXXV." On the blank page at the beginning is a reference to De Bure in Roscoe's handwriting.

3. Savonarola, "Libro di Frate Hieronymo de Ferrara dell' ordine de Frati Predicatori della verità della Fede Christiana," 4to., Roman characters. A note by Roscoe says this is the first edition of the Italian translation made by Savonarola himself, and printed towards 1495.

4. "The Tragedies gathered by John Bochas (Boccaccio)," translated into English by John Lydgate, monk of Bury. Imprinted at London by John Wayland (successor to Day, and owner of his type and other materials), folio, Gothic letters, published in the first year of Queen Mary, (*i. e.*, A.D. 1553).

By the Rev. J. Beck.—Sketches of two incised slabs lately found in the churchyard of Fittleworth, near Petworth, Sussex, and probably late in the fourteenth century.

By Professor Buckman.—Four spurs of various periods, found at Cirencester, and a brass toy model of a matchlock.

Archæological Intelligence.

It has been determined that the annual meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association for the ensuing year shall be held at Brecon. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since that place was visited by the Society. The ample promise of attractions of no ordinary interest held forth on that occasion was by no means exhausted. To our members, who cannot fail, after the agreeable reminiscences of Cardiff, to desire to seek at Brecon more extended acquaintance with the archæological treasures of South Wales, we may advert with satisfaction to the excellent summary of their varied character, as set forth by the worshipful mayor of that ancient borough, Mr. Powell, on occasion of the gathering there in 1853. It will be found in the second series of the Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. iv. p. 307. It would be needless to remind those who are familiar with the continued exertions of the kindred association in the principality, how much has been subsequently achieved, in no slight measure doubtless due to the stimulus given by their seventh anniversary, held on the banks of Usk. The masterly dissertations on the "Churches of Brecon," by Mr. Freeman, will now be appreciated as they deserve; the early inscribed monuments, that abound to a remarkable extent in the county, have found a skilful interpreter in Professor Westwood, and, lastly, we may remind our readers that in the picturesque Lake of Llangorse, in the vicinity of Brecon, has occurred the only example of a lacustrine habitation, constructed upon piles as in the lakes of Switzerland, hitherto discovered in Cambria. See Arch. Camb., fourth series, vol. i. p. 192.

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ADDRESS TO THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE HELD AT CARDIFF.

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

I AM well pleased that my first appearance in any official character before a body with which I have so long had to do as the Archæological Institute takes place in a district of which I have already some degree of knowledge, and one than which no part of the kingdom offers a wider field to the historical student. The section of our body over which I have been called on to preside is called more especially the Historical Section, but I conceive that all our researches, in whatever department, have the advancement of historical knowledge for their end. We call our studies antiquarian or archæological; but I conceive that the distinction between the higher and the lower, the profitable and the unprofitable, forms of antiquarian pursuit consists mainly in this. There are men who busy themselves with buildings or primæval monuments or actual objects and relics of early times, be they works of art or implements of peace or weapons of war, be they documents or inscriptions or ancient remains of any other kind, but whose interest ends in the objects themselves which they delight to examine and to gather together. There are others who also devote themselves to the study of some one or more of these classes of objects, but whose interest does not end in the objects themselves, but goes on to their higher value as forming parts of a greater whole. One man may be mainly drawn to one branch of these pursuits, and another to another, but all, if they follow up their studies as they should do, are really fellow-workers, all are making their several contributions to one higher study, the general history of man. Unless it be followed

with higher views of this kind, antiquarian study is a mere matter of curiosity; it cannot be allowed to claim the rank of a science. A man who collects antiquarian objects simply for the sake of collecting them is simply a collector, and nothing else; his pursuit hardly takes so high an intellectual rank as the collection of postage-stamps, for the collection of postage-stamps does directly tend to a knowledge of the actual political state of the world. But the man who examines and collects the very same objects, looking on them all the while as contributions to this or that branch of man's history, is no mere collector, but a genuine student, a man who plays his part in the general advancement of human knowledge. Not only do our pursuits fail of their truest interest and value unless they are carried on with these higher aims, but I believe that, unless we keep these higher aims steadily in view, we shall gain but a very imperfect knowledge of the objects themselves which we profess to study. For one branch of antiquarian study at least I can answer. Architectural study is a very lame and profitless employment, and one not likely to be followed out with any accurate or profitable result, unless it be studied directly as a branch of history, with constant reference to the creeds, the feelings, and the laws of the times and places where successive architectural styles arose. I hold then that the pursuits of the other two sections of our body are in truth no less historical than our own. Our own section is specially historical only in this, that, while the other sections throw light on man's history through his abiding works, through his tombs, his temples, and his houses, through his tools, his weapons, and his ornaments, our contributions to historical knowledge lead us rather among the outward events of history, among the documents in which those events are recorded, among the traces of other kinds, in language, nomenclature, law, and custom, which those events have left behind them. There are, in fact, few things which do not come within the compass of our section. I believe that we are ready to welcome anything which can throw any light on man's history, and which does not manifestly come within the range of either of the other sections. If any man wishes to announce his discoveries in the way of cromlechs or flint arrow-heads, if he is provided with a monograph of some church or castle, we must hand him

over to our friends in the Section of Antiquities or of Architecture; but well nigh everything else is welcome. Is any man fresh from the examination either of a battle-field or of a newly discovered charter or other manuscript? Has he anything to tell us illustrating local speech or local customs? Has he any peculiarities to mark in the way of tenures or descents, or, above all, of municipal institutions? All will be welcome. Nay, we can even spread out our arms to receive the votaries of heraldry and genealogy, provided we are not asked to believe that any coat dates from an earlier time than the twelfth century, and provided the pedigrees contain at least some stages which historical criticism does not show to be absolutely impossible.

Our object then is history in the widest sense of the word, and nothing which in any way leads to the illustration of history comes amiss to us. But our object is in a special manner local history. Now the value of local history is the way in which it illustrates general history. This truth is, I think, somewhat apt to be forgotten at both ends. We constantly come across local antiquaries, worthy men enough in their way, but whose thoughts seem never to get beyond the range of the town or county or other district which forms the sphere of their labours. They have got together a vast array of facts belonging to one particular place, but it has never come into their heads to compare the facts belonging to that place with the kindred facts belonging to other places. By so doing they not only fail to make the most of the knowledge which they have really gained, but that knowledge itself remains very narrow and imperfect. It is quite impossible really to understand the antiquities of any place or district without constantly comparing them with the antiquities of other places and districts. Men who confine themselves to so narrow a range never get beyond a very lame kind of knowledge even within that range. They are led into crude and hasty theories, into utter misconceptions of the objects with which they believe themselves to be most familiar. On the other hand, historians of greater pretensions, men who write the history of whole kingdoms, and who theorize upon the history of the whole world, are constantly led astray through neglect of local history. They forget that, as history is largely made up of the personal history of particular men, so it is largely made up of the

local history of particular places. They think it beneath them to master the topographical details, the architectural monuments, the peculiarities of ecclesiastical or municipal foundations, of the places where the great events of their history happened. By their so doing half the life, and truth, and vigour of their narrative is lost. I do not mean that the general historian who comes across the mention of any particular place need describe that place with the minuteness of the writer of a local monograph; but I do mean that he should have himself mastered them in such detail that he can set their main features before the eyes of his readers. I mean that, if he has to record one event which happened at Lincoln and another which happened at Winchester, his readers may carry away a clear impression that the site, the general aspect, the ecclesiastical and civil history, of Lincoln and of Winchester are things which differ not a little from one another. It is one of the many merits of Lord Macaulay's History that the place where each event happened is brought up clearly before the eyes of the reader. The same skill which paints the personal portrait of the actors in the story paints also the local landscape of the spot where the action took place. On the other hand, it would be easy to point out fashionable narratives which have no local colouring whatever, where the peculiarities of the town or district spoken of are ruthlessly blurred over, and where the simplest truths of English geography are trampled under foot with lofty contempt. The local historian who does not raise his eyes to general history is undoubtedly a very poor creature. But I venture to think that the general historian who thinks himself too great to cast an eye downwards on local history is a poorer creature still. The facts gathered together by the local antiquary may at least be put to some use by those who know better than himself how to array them in their due place and order. To the romantic or philosophical historian it is less easy to render such a service. He does his best to disqualify himself for gathering together any facts at all.

We thus come, step by step, towards the perfect definition of our object. Our business is history, and that specially local history, but it is local history viewed in direct relation to history on a wider scale. The direct discussion of the fate of empires hardly comes within our province; but we have to deal with

those special histories of the fate of cities and provinces which go far to make up the fate of empires. As we meet each year in some particular place, our special business for that year is the history of that place and its neighbourhood. But, as we meet year after year in one place after another, we have the best of opportunities for carrying out the comparative method of study, and for marking the points of likeness and unlikeness between the buildings, the institutions, the antiquities of every kind, to be found in the several places which we visit. And in the seven and twenty years which have passed since our Society first came into being, we have indeed visited famous cities and trod on ground hallowed by the deeds of famous men. We had our birth in the land which witnessed the birth of the English realm and the English Church; we started on our path from that illustrious corner of our island which was the first prize alike of Cæsar, of Hengest, and of Augustine; we drew our first corporate breath in the old metropolis of Canterbury, beneath the walls of the mother church of England. Since then, year after year, we have gone from city to city, spying out the minsters and castles and fields of battle where the history of England has been wrought. From the old minster and the royal hall of Winchester, the home alike of Ælfred and of William, we have looked up to the hills hallowed to English hearts as the scene of the martyrdom of Waltheof. From the awful ruins of Glastonbury, the common sanctuary of contending races, the one tie which binds the church of the conqueror to the church of the conquered, we have looked up from beside the rifled graves of Arthur and the Eadmunds to the prouder Tor of the Archangel, hallowed wherever truth and right are held in honour as the scene of the martyrdom of Whiting. As at Winchester and at Glastonbury so also at Waltham and Crowland and Evesham we have mused over the spots where the dust of the noblest heroes of England has been scattered to the winds at bidding of the destroyer. We have stood on the hill of the elder Salisbury, within the mighty ditches which have formed the bulwarks of so many successive races, and we have looked on the plain where Cynric overthrew the Briton, where William mustered his host after the overthrow of England, and where now the most graceful of West-Saxon minsters covers the ground which was once the chosen

meeting-place alike of armies and of councils. At Silchester, at Wroxeter, at either Dorchester, we have traced the works alike of the Briton and the Roman, and we have seen the relics which bear witness to the wasting havoc wrought by Englishmen in the days of their first conquests. At Warwick we have looked on the mound of Æthelflæd; at London and Rochester and Newcastle and Norwich we have looked on the mighty towers reared by the Conqueror, his companions, and his successors. At Oxford and Cambridge we have seen how our ancient Universities seem but institutions of yesterday within the walls of boroughs which had played their part in English history before a single scholar had come to learn Christian theology at the feet of Puleyn, or to hear Vacarius expound the mighty volume of the Imperial Law. Time would fail to tell of all that we have seen; but we cannot forget how, within the ramparts of old Eboracum, the minster of Paullinus and Thomas of Bayeux seemed young in the home of Severus and of Constantine; nor can we forget how, where the Ouse flows between the two castles of the Conqueror, we thought how often Scandinavian fleets had sailed up those waters to ravage or to deliver England. And we may deem perhaps that York itself taught us less than the sight of the ancient City of the Legions, where the monks of Bangor fell beneath the sword of Æthelfrith, where the forsaken walls stood for three hundred years to record the havoc of his victory, and where the Lady of the Mercians bade the city rise once more to life, to stand forth in English history as the last of English cities to own the Norman as her lord. And York and Chester themselves may yield to the charm of the long history of the height crowned by the Colony of Lindum, the home of Briton, Roman, Englishman, Dane and Norman; its walls, its houses, its castle, and its minster bearing the living impress of its successive conquerors; where on the height we call up the memory of those ancient Lawmen, those proud patricians who once bade fair to place Lincoln alongside of Bern and Venice, and where, in the plain below, a higher interest is kindled by the stern yet graceful towers which tell us how Englishmen, in the days of England's bondage, could still go on, with the Norman minster and castle rising above their heads, building according to the ruder models of the days of England's freedom. Such are the spots which we have seen and mused

on in the twenty-seven years of our corporate life, spots whose history makes up the history of England, and the older history of the land before it bore the English name. And in spots where there has been so much to learn we have seldom lacked worthy interpreters. We have had minsters expounded by the unerring acuteness of a Willis, and castles called up to their first life by the massive vigour of a Clark. And below the ditches of Salisbury, beside the boundary streams of Avon and of Severn, we have heard the great master—I would rather say the great discoverer—of early English history, bring together the combined witness of records and monuments and nomenclature to call forth the true tale of Saxon and Anglian conquest out of what, in other hands, had seemed but a chaos of myth and legend. One spot still remains: we have not yet gone over all the cities of England. Some strange freak of destiny, some mysterious cause too deep for common intellects to fathom, has during all these years kept us out of the great city of the West. Damnonia is still untrodden ground to us; we have caught a kind of Pisgah view out of neighbouring shires, but Exeter, the city which beat back Swegen and all but beat back William, is still a place which we know by the hearing of the ear, but on which our eyes have not yet rested. Some day surely the ban will be removed; some day surely we may hear from the lips of Dr. Guest how the process of conquest, which he has traced to the Axe and the Parret, went on further to the Tamar and the Land's End; some day surely we may be allowed to listen while our other guides set forth all that is to be said of the city where walls which at least represent the walls of Æthelstan still fence in the Red Mount of Baldwin of Modes and the twin minster towers of William of Warelwast.

But while we are thus shut out from that part of our island which was anciently known as West-Wales, I must congratulate our body on the choice of a place for its meeting, now that the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland has for the first time assembled beyond the bounds of England. I hear a murmur, but I speak advisedly. That the Institute has visited the extreme north of England I fully admit; that it has met beyond its northern border I deny. I can listen to no geography which tells me that the Earldom of Lothian and the Borough

of Eadwine are other than English ground. Edinburgh then I claim as English; Dublin, like Exeter, is a place which we have heard of but never seen; but now we have at last crossed the border. Whether we place that border at the Wye, the Usk, or the Rumney, there is no doubt that here, on the banks of the Taff, we are met together on genuine British ground. I say genuine British, I do not venture to say purely British: for one of the advantages of this district for historical study is that it is preeminently not purely British nor purely anything; that there is no part of the island where all the successive races which have occupied it or overrun it have left more speaking signs of their presence. We are here emphatically in a border district, and a border district is always specially rich in materials for history. A glance at the map, a glance at any list of local names, shows how many races and tongues have had their share or their turn in the occupation or the superiority of the district. In the greater part of England well nigh every name is English or Danish, according to the district; if here or there a river or a great city keeps its British name, that is all. Even in districts like Somerset and Devonshire, which keep somewhat of a border character, districts where the Briton was subdued and assimilated, but not utterly wiped out, though British names are found in comparative abundance, they are still, after all, but a small minority. There are large districts of Wales, on the other hand, where every local name is British; where, if a stray English name is found by any chance, it is at once felt to be a modern intruder. In districts like these we see that the Briton is still in full possession; it is a mere political change, and not any real disturbance of the population, which cuts him off from the days of Howell the Good and Roderick the Great. The land in which we are now met, the land of Gwent and Morganwg, presents phænomena different from any of these. Cast your eye at random over the map of this county of Glamorgan, and it may haply light on the name of a place called Welsh Saint Donats. Such a name is enough to set one thinking. In what state of things is it needful to mark out a place as Welsh, to distinguish Welsh Saint Donats from another Saint Donats which is not Welsh? If you are in Cardiganshire, you have no need to distinguish this or that place as Welsh Llanfihangel; if you are in

Kent, you have no need to distinguish a place as English Dartford or English Sevenoaks. Such a name as Welsh Saint Donats implies that you are in a district partly, perhaps chiefly, but not wholly Welsh. Look on more carefully through the list of names; it is easy to see that the mass of them are purely Welsh, Llandaff, Llantrissaint, and a crowd of others. But some, like Cowbridge and Newton, are purely English; others are English translations of Welsh names, as where English Michaelston has supplanted Welsh Llanfihangel. But here and there we stumble on a name like Beaupre, which is neither Welsh nor English, but good French. And here and there we have a name like Flemingston, which not only points by inference to the presence of other races, but tells us on the face of it what those races were. A district which has such a local nomenclature as this, where so many nations and languages have left their abiding traces, is shown, without further proof, to be a district specially rich in materials for historical study. We see a district in which the old British race is still the prevailing element, but into which intruders of more than one nation have made their way, not simply as visitors or plunderers or momentary conquerors, but as men who have settled down in the land, who have given their own names to its fields and houses, and who have made themselves essential elements in the population of the district alongside of its earlier possessors.

We have here then, on the face of it, a district of paramount interest to the historical inquirer. We have in the nomenclature of the district signs of the presence of several successive races; but those signs alone could not tell us at what time or by what means those successive races made their way into the land. The general course of history will tell us that the Welsh names are older than the English; but, without taking in other special means of information, we could hardly get beyond that. Let us try and see, in a vague and general way, what more special research will tell us, what points for further inquiry it will suggest to us, as to the history of a district whose phænomena show themselves, at the first blush, as so remarkable.

We may begin with the old question of all, who were the first inhabitants of the country? As far as recorded history goes, as far as spoken language goes, we have nothing to

suggest the presence of any inhabitants earlier than those who still form the bulk of the population, the Britons, Cymry, or Welsh. But on points of this kind it is often needful to go beyond the teaching either of recorded history or of spoken language. Two views, each of which has been maintained with no small ingenuity, suggest the presence of races older than the oldest now existing in the country. Were the Britons the earliest wave of Aryan migration in these lands, or were they preceded by an earlier Aryan and Celtic race, that namely which consists of the Scots both of Britain and Ireland, and which, on the lips of the Cymry as on their own, still bears, in various forms, the name of Gael or Gwyddyl? That is to say, is the wide distinction between the two branches of the Celtic race in these islands, between the Scots or Gael and the Welsh or Britons, a distinction which arose after they settled in these islands, or do they represent two successive waves of Aryan migration? In this last case there can be no doubt as to putting the Gael as the earlier settlers of the two. The evidence, as far as there can be any direct evidence on a prehistoric matter, consists mainly of certain spots in various parts of Wales which still bear the name of the Gwyddyl. Many of them are wild headlands; a few are inland spots equally wild, such as Nant-y-Gwyddyl in the heart of the Black Mountains, in the upper part of the deep dale where stands the elder Priory of Llanthony. Are these simply spots occupied by rovers from Ireland who undoubtedly harried these coasts in later times, or are they spots where the older Gaelic population made their last desperate stand against the British invader? Is *Nant-y-Gwyddyl* in Gwent a name analogous to *Wallcombe* in Somerset, a name which records the former presence of the Gael in the land of the Briton, as its possible fellow certainly records the former presence of the Briton in the land of the West Saxon? And again, can either branch of the Celtic race, Gael or Briton, claim to be the first inhabitants of the land? The Celt, in some shape, was undoubtedly the first Aryan inhabitant, but was he the first human inhabitant of any kind? No one doubts that a large part of Western Europe was over-spread by non-Aryan races, relics of which, in the extreme North and again in one stubborn corner of Gaul and Spain, still retain their primæval languages. Was the same the case in

Britain, and was our island also once inhabited by Turanian races, kinsfolk of the Fins and Laps of the North, and of the Basques of the Pyrenees? Have we existing monuments of their workmanship among us? We are here in a land not poor in primæval antiquities; this county contains one of the largest cromlechs in Britain, and it is as well to remember that one theory at least attributes these gigantic graves—I suppose there is no one here so behind the world as to dream about Druid altars—not to Celts, British or Gaelic, not to Aryans of any race, but to the Turanian inhabitants of the old times before them. And this question has been still more strongly pressed upon our minds by a very modern controversy. It has been held, not only that Britain was occupied by a non-Aryan race before either Gael or Briton made their way into it, but that this same non-Aryan race still survives and forms a main element in the population of some parts of the island, especially of that part in which we are now come together. It has been held by two writers, both of great name, but with a long interval of ages between them—by Tacitus and Professor Huxley—that the Silurians of South Wales and the neighbouring districts were really a people closely akin to the Iberians of Spain, and therefore not Celtic, not Aryan at all. I do not know how this doctrine sounds in the ears of men of British blood. Speaking myself as a Saxon, I can only say that it fairly took my breath away. I know not whether Britons will be ready to give up Caradoc as a British brother; I should certainly be unwilling to give him up as at least an Aryan cousin. Still we have here a doctrine which is supported by great names, and which at least deserves to be thoroughly gone into from all points of view. One thing is plain, that if the people of South Wales are really of a Turanian stock, the process of Aryan assimilation has been very thoroughly carried out. The British tongue, I need not say, is still a living thing in these parts; but if Basque, or any other non-Aryan speech, is now spoken in any part of Morganwg, we must, I think, look for it, not among the native inhabitants of either the vale or the mountains, but among the strangers whom commerce has brought from all corners of the earth to the busy haven of Cardiff.

Here, then, are questions as to the prae-historic state of the district well worthy of being tested in every way. We

will pass on to the more certain facts of history. Whether the people of this district are genuine Britons or Iberians who have somehow changed into Britons, it is certain that, as far as either recorded history or local nomenclature can carry us back, the land has been a British land, and its prevailing tongue the British tongue. But the people and the language are to a great extent their own monument. It is a point of marked contrast between the archæology of Wales and that of Ireland, that, while in Ireland the land is full of buildings of very early date, I never saw in Wales any building—I mean buildings strictly so called, works of masonry—which I felt any inclination to assign to a date earlier than the Norman invasion. There are, I believe, in Anglesey, in the Priory of Penmon, remains which seem to be of an earlier date; but these I have not myself seen, and I certainly know of nothing of the kind anywhere between the Wye and Saint David's Head. The land was full of churches, and especially full of saints, for the churches of Wales commonly bear the name, not of the deceased and canonized heroes of the Church, but of the local worthies who were their own founders. They have left behind them their names, their memory, and their foundations; but their actual works have, as far as I know, given way, in every case, to later buildings. Still less is it needful to show that all the great military structures of the country, the castles, great and small, which form such a characteristic feature in its landscape and in its history, are all of later date than the coming of the Norman. If then the primæval sepulchres belong to an earlier race, and the ecclesiastical and military structures to a later, for British antiquities, in the strictest sense, we must look to the lesser remains of the country. For British remains of heathen times we must look among ruder defensive works, camps and earthworks like those of Caerau, and in Christian times we must seek them among a most interesting class of minor ecclesiastical antiquities, the sculptural crosses and inscribed stones, which have attracted deserved attention at the hands of several inquirers, and several of which will be found within our present district. I commend this point to the consideration of Celtic antiquaries—why it is that Ireland has a marked national style of ecclesiastical buildings, beginning long before, and continued long after, the

English Conquest, while in the Celtic parts of Scotland we have only a few analogous structures, like the round Towers of Brechin and Abernethy, and in Wales nothing of this class finds any counterpart. The ecclesiastical buildings of South Wales have much of deep interest, they have much of local character, but there is absolutely nothing which reminds us of Glendalough, of Clonmacnoise, and of Monasterboice; their connexion with the days of early British Christianity is, even at places like St. David's and Llandaff, like Llantwit and Llancarfan, a connexion wholly of history and association; it in no case extends to the actual stones.

I have been carried on too far at the expense of chronological order, for the first conqueror of the Briton has not failed to leave important traces behind him. Two famous seats of Roman occupation stand forth among the chief antiquarian attractions, if not of Morganwg, at least of Gwent. On the banks of the Usk the Roman fixed an Isca, a City of the Legions, which once was a rival of the other City of the Legions by the Dee and of the other Isca by the Damnonian Exe. Not far off too are the remains of the Silurian Venta, which once needed to be so distinguished from the other Venta which became the royal city of the West-Saxons, and from the third Venta in the east, which has fallen the most utterly of the three, but which is in some sort represented by a greater city than any of those of which I have spoken. The Silurian and the Belgian Venta still remain as habitations of man, but the Icenian Venta lives only in the rime which tells how

> "Caistor was a city when Norwich was none,
> But Norwich was built of Caistor stone."

The Briton then remains in his speech and in his own presence; the Roman and his speech have vanished utterly, but his works remain. The relations of the Briton to his next invader supply a more instructive subject of study. The results of the English conquest were widely different in various parts of Britain. In the greater part of the land the fate of the Celtic inhabitants was utter extirpation: in a considerable, but far smaller, district it was assimilation. Men of British blood submitted to the English conquerors, and they gradually adopted the language and feelings of Englishmen. How slow the process sometimes was we see in the long

endurance of the British tongue in Cornwall. Now I need not show that neither of these processes has taken place to any great extent in this district. English does advance, but, except in great centres of population, like that where we are now met, it advances very slowly. English has taken far longer to advance from the Wye to the Usk than it took to advance from the German Ocean to the Wye. Except in the great towns, the land is essentially British, so far British that anything else is exceptional. But it is not purely British, like large parts of central and northern Wales, which were conquered under Edward the First, but which never received any large amount of English settlers. In this district we see something more than the mere political conquest of Cardigan or Merioneth, something less than the extermination of Kent or the assimilation of Devonshire. Strangers have conquered and settled in the land, but, except in small districts here and there, they have neither driven out nor assimilated the earlier inhabitants. The cause of this difference was doubtless the time when the conquest of this country took place. The old wars of extermination, when the heathen English swept away everything Roman, British, or Christian before them, had ceased before Gwent and Morganwg had any dealings with the English in peace or in war. The West-Saxon Kings, from Ecgberht onwards, were satisfied with an external supremacy, nominal or real, according to the degree of power which the overlord had to enforce it. It was not till the time of Eadward the Confessor that anything like real conquest was even attempted. Then we find a Bishop of Llandaff receiving his see from the King and Witan of England. In the last years of Eadward's reign, after the overthrow of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, I have no doubt that, along with certain districts in northern and central Wales, the land of Gwent, between the Wye and the Usk, was formally annexed to England. The hunting-seat which Harold raised for the king at Portskewet, and which was presently swept away by Caradoc ap Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, was no doubt meant to be a solemn taking of seizin, a speaking sign that, within these limits at least, the King of the English was to be no mere overlord, but an immediate ruler. The events which immediately followed hindered any plans of English settlement from being carried out; they even hindered the

deed of Caradoc from meeting with any punishment. Nor did William himself at the outside do more than pass through the district on his way to the shrine of Saint David, receiving its submission in a general way, and providing for the liberation of English or Norman captives. I ask those who know the local history better than myself, how far we can trust the entry in the Welsh Chronicles which places the beginnings of the castle of Cardiff in the days of the Conqueror. He may have taken some such precaution to secure the fidelity of his new vassals, but further than this I see no signs of anything strictly to be called a conquest in his time. The real conquest came in the next reign, and it is to its peculiar nature that the characteristic phænomena of the district are owing. Gwent and Morganwg were not conquered by heathen invaders, spreading mere slaughter and havoc before them; neither were they conquered, as a political conquest, by a Duke of Normandy or a King of England, at the head of a national Norman or English army. The conquest was more like the conquest of Ireland a generation or two later than it was like either the English conquest of Britain or the Norman conquest of England. The scramble for lands and dwellings, which some people seem to fancy took place under the strict civil police, the stern military discipline, of William the Great, really did take place when a crowd of Norman knights and their followers swept down on the devoted districts, each man seeking to carve out a lordship for himself. The land was won by the sword, but it was by the sword of private adventurers, not by the armies of a regular government. The land was conquered, the land was divided, to a large extent it was settled, but its former inhabitants were neither destroyed, expelled, nor assimilated. Each chief came with a motley following. Normans and other Frenchmen pressed on from the conquest of England to complete the conquest of the rest of Britain. Englishmen, conquered in their own land, could, alike in Maine and in Morganwg, appear as conquerors out of it; and Normans and English forgot their mutual hatred when carrying on a common aggression under a common banner. And along with Normans and English came the near kinsman of the Englishman, the keen-witted and hardy Fleming, equally ready and skilful in the pursuit of gain, whether war, commerce,

or manufacture offered itself as the means of its pursuit. To this peculiar character of the invasion we owe the peculiar character of the antiquities of the district. Castles arose far thicker on the ground than in England itself, for every leader among the invaders needed a stronghold for the safety of himself and his followers. A Norman knight, who in England would have been satisfied with a manor, made perhaps in some slight degree defensible, here needed a fortress, smaller and less splendid, but as strictly a military work as the Towers of London or Rochester. The Norman too was essentially devout; wherever he dwelt, wherever he conquered, he founded monasteries and parish churches; but in such a land as this a monastery could not fail to be a fortress; a church was driven to be on occasion a house of warfare. Of the fortified monastery no better example can be seen than the Priory of Ewenny; as to the smaller churches, the real necessities of one age became the mere tradition of a later, and something of a military character was impressed on the church towers of South Wales down to the very end of mediæval architecture. And, besides castles and churches, the new settlers soon began to seek at once strength and enrichment by the foundations of chartered towns, whose privileged burgesses would consist of a motley assemblage of French, English, Flemings, anything in short but Britons. Every castle, every town, was thus a foreign settlement, a settlement of men with arms in their hands, who had to keep what they had won against the enmity of those who had lost it. Wherever it was convenient and possible, the natives would be utterly driven out, and the result would be such a purely English-speaking district as that of Llantwit and Saint Donats. The land remained a scene of predatory warfare, of a truly national strife, long after men of all races and all tongues within England itself had sat down side by side in common obedience to a common law.

A district with such a history as this is rich above most districts alike in antiquarian interest and in picturesque incident. The student of language, of ecclesiastical or military architecture, of ecclesiastical or municipal foundations, all find a rich store of the objects of their several studies, a store all the richer because it contains many objects of all classes which are at once small in scale and eccentric in character. And I believe that a field equally wide is opened

to the lover of genealogy and family history, pursuits which, in a district of this kind, certainly connect themselves more closely with real history than elsewhere. I trust that on many of these various points much information may come to light during the present meeting; I trust that, when the present meeting is over, some of our body may be led to work out in detail some of the many questions which are started by an examination of South-Welsh antiquities in general. On one point at least they are well off. Among all the various remains in this district the castles stand out the foremost, and the man who knows more about castles than any other man dwells in the midst of them.

I will touch on only one point of detail. I mentioned the Flemings among the settlers in South Wales. Now about the Flemish settlement in Pembrokeshire there is no kind of doubt. It is a matter of history, recorded by contemporary writers. But the alleged Flemish settlements in Glamorganshire, in Gower and about Llantwit, do not, as far as I know, rest on any such certain evidence as this. They seem to rest only on inference and tradition, though, as it seems to me, highly probable inference and tradition. Here then is a special point, to be thoroughly worked out by some one who has the opportunity. I will only say that with many people there seems to be some needless wonder and puzzledom about these Flemings. The sign of a Flemish district is the exclusive speaking of English. People seem to wonder at this, and to ask how they come to speak English *although* they are Flemings. The answer is that they speak English *because* they are Flemings. Flemish and English are simply two dialects of the same Low-Dutch speech, which in the time of Henry the First can hardly have differed more widely from each other than the speech of Lothian differed from the speech of Hampshire. The Flemings would be simply another English tribe, like Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, only coming some centuries later. At the same time the language of the alleged Flemish districts of Glamorganshire should be carefully compared with the language of the known Flemish districts of Pembrokeshire, with the spoken language of Flanders, and with the dialect of the opposite coast of Somerset. But such an inquiry must be made in a thoroughly scientific way. Local inquirers into local dialects constantly mark as local every

word which has gone out of use in high-polite English. A word is thus perhaps set down as characteristic of Kent which is equally characteristic of Northumberland or Cornwall. Points of likeness between Gower and Somerset, between Gower and any other district, prove nothing, unless it can be shown that they are also points of unlikeness to other districts.

I give this as an example of the kind of questions, suggested by local phænomena, but having an interest far more than local, which are brought before us by the varied antiquities of the land in which we are met. It is a land in which men of all the races which have occupied this island may alike feel at home, for each and all may trace out the memorials of their own forefathers. Briton, Englishman, Norman, Fleming, have all contributed to the population, to the speech, to the existing antiquities, of the district. Our Danish friends in the North and East have perhaps less part and lot in the matter, but it may comfort them to remember that Wiking fleets were often seen in the Bristol Channel, and that down to the end of the eleventh century, the Black Heathens were ready to destroy whatever men of the other races were ready to rear up. On spots where our fathers met in arms, we, living men of those various races, can meet in friendship to trace out their deeds. The castles which were once badges of bondage of which men loathed the sight and the name, are now the witnesses of a time which has happily passed away, witnesses whose silent teaching we can listen to with curiosity and even with reverence. And, if the castles remind us of the old separation, the old hostility, of contending races, another class of buildings reminds us of their union. The ecclesiastical history of Wales is certainly no pleasant page in the history of England. One reads with a feeling of shame of the revenues of ancient Welsh churches swept away, in the twelfth century and in the sixteenth, to enrich English foundations at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Bristol. Yet, in the days of war and tumults, it was something that men of contending races could at least worship together, that they could agree to look with reverence on spots like the holy places of Saint Teilo and Saint Iltyd. And it is something on the other side that, in one point at least, the nineteenth century may hold up its head alongside of any of its forerunners. No

church of its rank in South Britain had ever fallen so low, few have now risen so high, as the cathedral church of the diocese in which we are met. If there were nothing else to draw us hither, it would be goal enough for our pilgrimage to see the ancient minster of Llandaff, not so many years back a ruin and worse than a ruin, stand forth, as it now does, among the model churches of our land.

THE BLOCK OF TIN DREDGED UP IN FALMOUTH HARBOUR, AND NOW IN THE TRURO MUSEUM.

By Major-General Sir HENRY JAMES, F.R.S., Director-General of the Ordnance Survey.

ABOUT sixty years ago a block of tin was dredged up near St. Mawes, at the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, and was presented in 1829 by the late Thomas Daniel, Esq., of Truro, to the Museum of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, in that town. A cast of this block will be found in the Museum of Practical Geology, in London.[1]

Attentively considering the peculiar form of this block of tin, its weight, and the place where it was dredged up, it appears to me to throw great light upon the still vexed question of the locality of the Ictis of Diodorus.

Sir George C. Lewis has given, at page 452 of his work on the "Astronomy of the Ancients," a reference to the well-known passage of Diodorus, relative to the tin trade of Britain; it is as follows:—

"Diodorus describes Britain as being, like Sicily, triangular, but with sides of unequal length. The promontory nearest the main-land was called Cantium (Kent); that at the opposite extremity was called Belerium, that turned towards the sea was named Orca (a confusion with the Orcades). The inhabitants of the promontary of Belerium were hospitable, and, on account of their intercourse with strangers, civilized in their habits. It is they who produce tin, which they melt into the form of astragali, and they carry it to an island in front of Britain, called Ictis. This island is left dry at low tides, and they then transport the tin in carts from the shore. Here the traders buy it from the natives and carry it to Gaul, over which it travels on horseback, in about thirty days, to the mouths of the

[1] This remarkable object has been previously noticed, and figured in Arch. Journ., vol. xxvi. p. 39, with some remarks on other relics of Early Metallurgy in Cornwall.





Standidge &C° Lith. London



St MICHAEL'S MOUNT, AT HIGH WATER

Rhone." Sir George Lewis then goes on to say, "Timæus mentioned an island Mictis, within six days' sail of Britain, which produced tin, and to which the natives of Britain sailed in coracles."

Dr. Barham, in his Memoir on the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus, in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, p. 91, says :—

"In this case almost all parties agree both that there is one, and also that there is only one, spot which at all answers to the description of the Iktis, viz., St. Michael's Mount." And again, at p. 92:—"But in order to do justice to our argument, it will be proper to consider somewhat more particularly what kind of place the Iktis must needs have been, and what, therefore, must be required in its representative.

"It appears that it was chosen by the ancient merchants as the seat of a factory; they had their establishment on it for purchasing, receiving, and warehousing their tin, previously to its being shipped; and, finally, it was here that they put it on board for exportation.

"What, then, may we conceive the advantages which recommended this spot to their choice? We may naturally suppose, in the first place, that it was one which afforded security against sudden attack, and was capable of effectual defence; for in the rude state of society then existing amongst the natives, such precautions whould be far from superfluous. But a matter of still more urgent necessity was to possess a commodious port for the shipping; this was an indispensable condition, and we may therefore be certain that the little island of Iktis was distinguished by this advantage. It was, moreover, necessary for their purpose that it should be conveniently situated with respect to the mines; some considerable mining districts must no doubt have been in its neighbourhood. Finally, to render the foregoing advantages available, we must suppose that the adjoining shores were accessible and gentle, for down precipitous crags and cliffs carts laden with tin could never go. Such, then, was the Iktis, a little island, not very remote from the Land's End, and combining in itself all the characteristic circumstances above detailed, and which are certainly not, in many instances, to be found united. Such, however, in every particular, is that little island which, at

this very day we behold in our bay, St. Michael's Mount. That this is admirably adapted for defence is obvious. It is a port which we daily see frequented by numerous vessels, and cargoes of tin are still sometimes taken on board there, after having been transported in carts across the isthmus." See the two views of the Mount here given.

With a place agreeing so fully in every particular with the description of the Ictis given by Diodorus, one is at a loss to imagine why so many writers should trouble themselves to look elsewhere for it. But it is contended by some, that because the remains of a forest are found in the Mount's Bay, below the level of the sea, and because the ancient Cornish name of the Mount is, "The hoar rock in the wood;" therefore at the time it was so named, and at the time when Diodorus wrote, about nine or ten years B.C., the Mount must have stood on a plain surrounded with trees, and the description of its being an island at high water and a peninsula at low water would not apply to it. This objection is easily disposed of: it is quite true that there are the remains of a forest in the Mount's Bay, but similar remains are found in almost every bay or estuary all round the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, and on the opposite coast of France, and they prove that, speaking geologically, the whole area has been recently depressed, although, as we can prove, not so recently as the period when Diodorus wrote. Similar remains of forests, for example, are found in Portsmouth harbour and in Southampton water, but the Roman works at Porchester in the former, and at Bittern Manor in the latter, are placed on low peninsulas, and the works are obviously designed with reference to the present configuration of the land and the present level of the sea.

We also know from the coins which have been found at Bittern Manor, near Southampton, that the Roman station there (Clausentum) was established as early as the time of Diodorus, and was occupied by the Romans for near 400 years afterwards, and consequently that the depression of the large area referred to, including that at the Mount's Bay, took place long before, and probably thousands of years before he wrote.

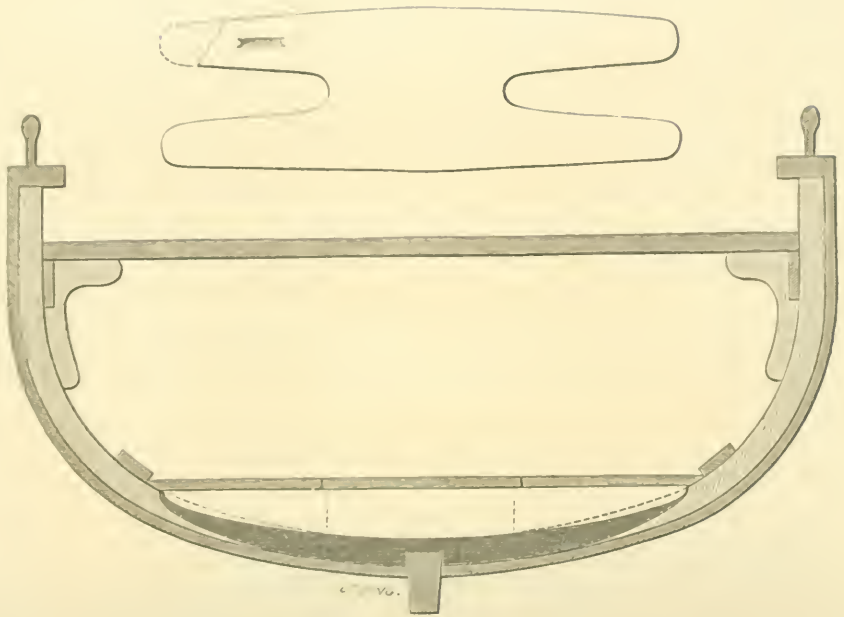
Besides which there are trees growing on the Mount, and in sufficient number to have justified the ancient descriptive name of "The hoar rock in the wood."

The form of the block of tin which was dredged up in Falmouth harbour is best understood by the annexed illustrations. See the woodcut, where it is shown in plan and in section. It is 2 ft. 11 in. long, 11 in. wide, and 3 in. thick at the centre, perfectly flat on one side, but curved on the other, and having four prolongations at the corners, each 1 ft. long. The weight (in its present state) is 158 lbs.

It is said by Diodorus that the inhabitants of the promontory of Belerium (the most western part of Cornwall) cast the tin into the form of astragali, "*ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμούς*." I have the authority of Professor Owen for saying that this peculiar form of the block was properly described by Diodorus as in the form of an astragalus, or knuckle-bone, and that an astragalus is, in fact, the type of such a form—this alone gives a peculiar interest to this block of tin.[2] But we are naturally led to inquire why this peculiar form was selected for the blocks. We are told that the traders resorting to Ictis there buy the tin from the natives and carry it to Gaul, over which it travels on horseback in about thirty days. It was therefore necessary that the blocks of tin should be cast in such a form, and be of such a weight, as to be conveniently carried both in boats for transport to Gaul, and then on horseback for the journey overland; and it is impossible to look at this block of tin without being struck with the admirable adaptation of the form and weight for this double purpose, and also for the purpose of being easily carried by hand by two men, or slung for lifting it either into or from a boat, or on and off a horse.

This is seen at a glance by the accompanying diagram: the curved surface of one side of the block exactly fits the curve of the bottom of a boat, whilst the flat plane surface of the other sides would form a continuous level floor to the boat, which being covered with bottom boards would entirely conceal the valuable cargo beneath. Again the ribs of the boat, coming up through the divided ends of the block, would prevent the possibility of any shifting of the cargo when the boat was pitching or rolling in the sea, and the blocks resting on the keel and ribs of the boat would prevent any strain upon the planking when the boat was run ashore

[2] The astragal stamped on this block of tin, is most probably the trade-mark of a particular merchant or trader in tin. Each of the Greek merchants engaged in the tin-trade would require his own mark, as the merchants have at this day.



Plan of the Block of Tin, and Section of a boat with the block placed in it.



HORSE CARRYING BLOCKS OF TIN ACROSS GAUL

and grounded. As ballast to the boat when under sail, the blocks are in the lowest and best possible position.

Arrived in Gaul and disembarked, we see that the weight, about 160 lbs., is just the proper weight for a horse having to carry two of them on a pack-saddle, and the form is so nicely adjusted and the weight so judiciously distributed as to enable the horse to carry them with the least fatigue, whilst a single sling over the pack-saddle, with two blocks of wood on the trees of the saddle, would perfectly secure it on the horse.

It is impossible to look on this block of tin, and see how admirably it is designed for transport both by land and water, without arriving at the conclusion that we have here before us one of the astragali described by Diodorus, and seeing the perfect and most remarkable agreement of his description of Ictis with St. Michael's Mount. can we doubt, that it was from that place that this block of tin was embarked? The boat on its voyage coastways to Boulogne, or one of the nearest ports of France to England, was probably swamped at the entrance to Falmouth harbour, whilst endeavouring to gain the shelter of the inlet at St. Mawes.

That the Ictis of Diodorus was the same place as the Mictis of Timæus, is made evident from the fact that it is the only island where tin is produced, and it would be just a six days' passage, under ordinary circumstances, from Dover or Hythe to St. Michael's Mount, allowing for a progress of fifty miles a day. The distance from Boulogne to Marseilles is also just what could be travelled by loaded horses in thirty days, allowing from eighteen to twenty miles for each day's journey.

I do not think it necessary to discuss the claims of the Isle of Wight to be considered the Ictis, as the description of the place by Diodorus does not now, and could not at any time, have applied to it in any one particular.

The following passage in the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis's work "Astronomy of the Ancients," p. 453, led many to imagine that he was of opinion that the Ictis of Diodorus was the Isle of Wight:—

"The Mictis of Timæus and the Ictis of Diodorus are probably variations of the name of Vectis, by which the Romans designated the Isle of Wight."

But in the letter from this distinguished statesman and

scholar, of which the following is a copy, he distinctly denies that such was his opinion, and that he was satisfied that St. Michael's Mount was the Ictis :—

"Kent House, Knightsbridge, June 16, 1862.

"My dear Sir Henry,—I am much obliged to you for sending me the full and satisfactory information about the ancient Cornish tin-trade, and for the trouble which you have taken in the matter.

"The passage in my volume was not intended to convey the meaning which you attributed to it. All that I meant to say was that the *names* Mictis and Ictis were variations of Vectis, and arose from a confusion with that name. My impression was that *both* accounts were fabulous, and arose from the tendency to multiply islands, to which I have elsewhere adverted (see p. 465). The coincidence of the account of Diodorus with St. Michael's Mount is however so close that it cannot be accidental, and the circumstances mentioned by Dr. Barham satisfy me that it was the port from which the tin was shipped for the coast of Gaul. Your explanation of the block of tin is curious and ingenious, and affords a strong confirmation to the hypothesis that tin reached the Mediterranean by the overland route across Gaul, and was not carried round by the Straits of Gibraltar.

"I understand that a model of this block is in the Jermyn Street Museum.

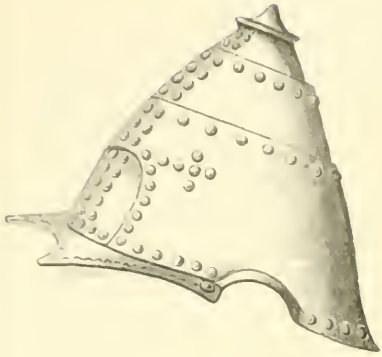
"Believe me, yours very truly,
(Signed) "G. C. Lewis.

"Col. Sir H. James, R.E."

In the Report of the Royal Institution of Cornwall for 1863 a communication will be found from Mr. Richard Edmonds on "St. Michael's Mount and the Phœnicians," in which he contends that the translators of Diodorus—English, French, and Latin—have improperly changed the name Iktin, as we find it in Diodorus, to Iktis, and that Iktin in the Cornish language simply means the Tin-port.

H. J.

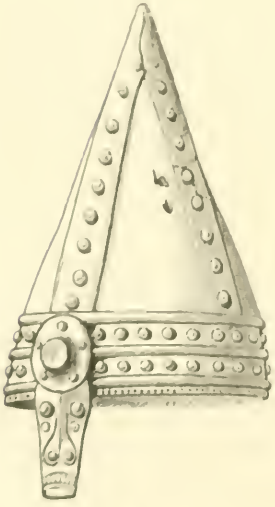




I. Anglo-Saxon
Seventh or Eighth century



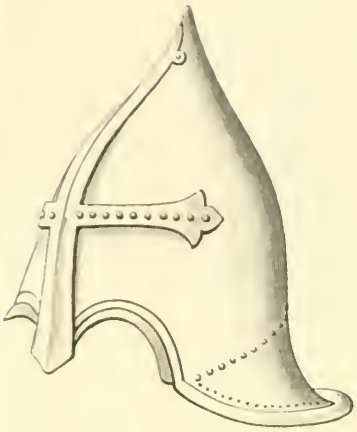
II. Anglo-Saxon.
Date about A.D. 800



III. Norman
of the time of William the Conqueror



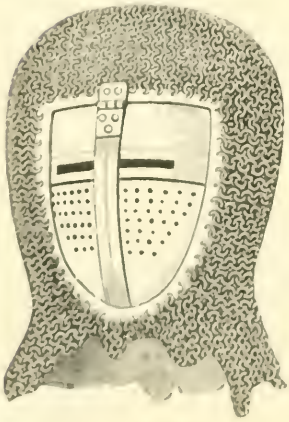
IV. Norman.
Possibly of the Twelfth century



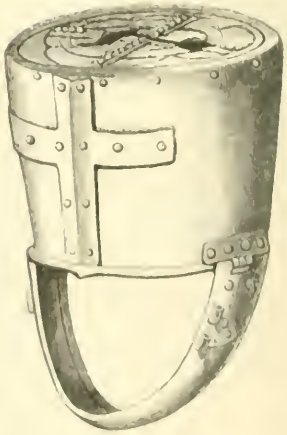
V. Basinet.
Date possibly Twelfth century.



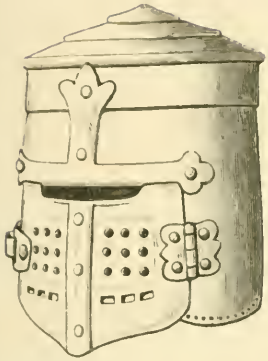
VI. Hood of chain mail, not riveted



VII. Hood of chain mail, with a hinged visor
Date Thirteenth century.



VIII. Norman
Date Twelfth century



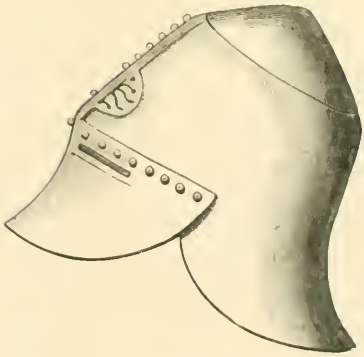
IX. Cylindrical helmet with moveable aventaille.
Date Thirteenth century.



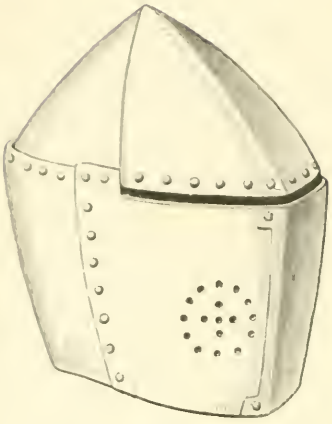
X. Cylindrical helmet.
Date Thirteenth century.



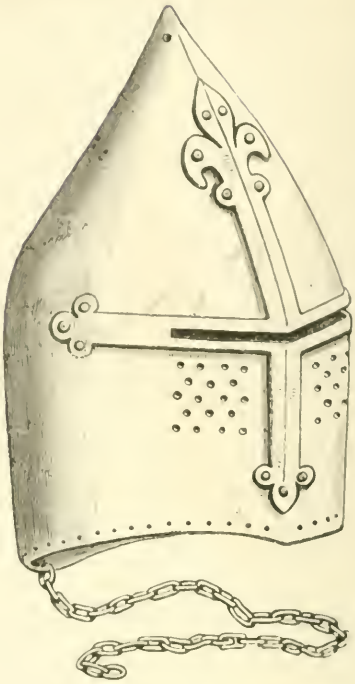
XI. Open cylindrical helmet, with the Tau of St. Anthony.
Date about 1298.



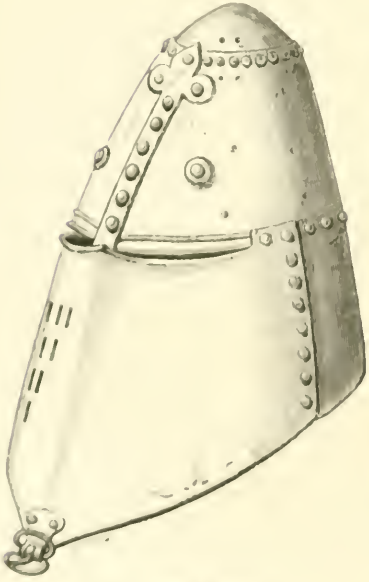
XII. Helmet ascribed to Robert Bruce.
Date early Fourteenth century.



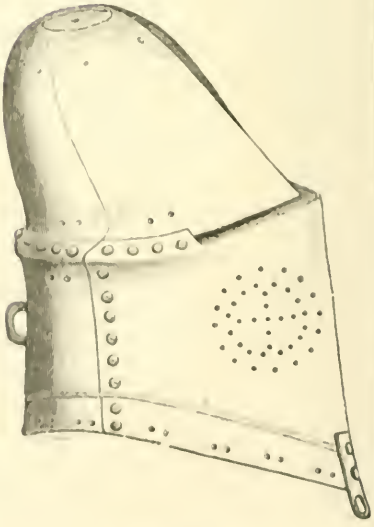
XIII. Tilting helmet.
Date 1280—1320.



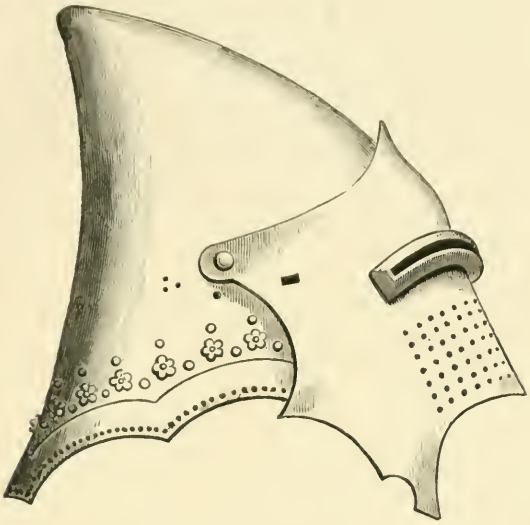
XIV. Tilting helmet.
Date 1280.



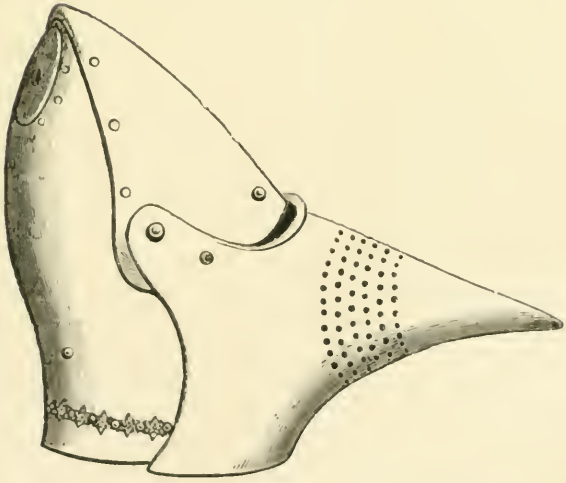
XV. Tilting helmet.
Date 1401.



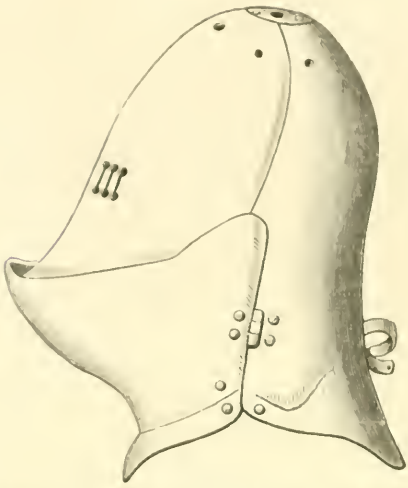
XVI. Tilting helmet.
Date 1380.



XVII. Visored basinet. German. Date about 1380.



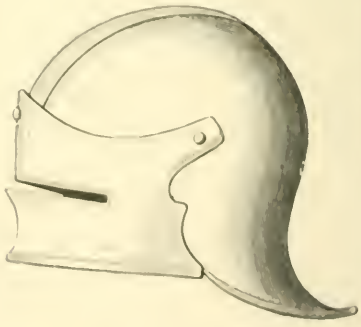
XVIII. Basinet, with singular long peaked visor. Date 1350.



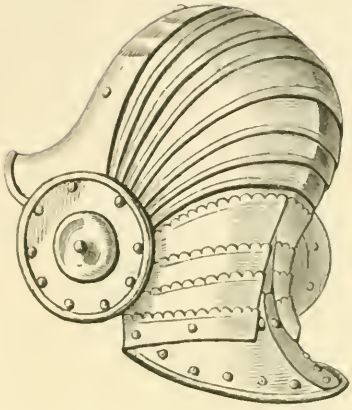
XIX Helmet, with beaver and visor. Date early Fifteenth century.



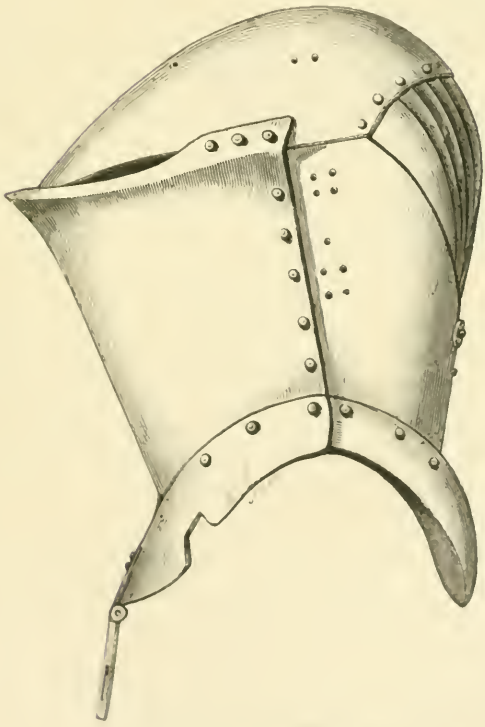
XX Salade, worn by a knight of Rhodes.
Date Fifteenth century



XXI. Visored Salade.
Date Fifteenth century



XXII Jointed Helmet. Date Fifteenth century



XXIII Tilting Helmet of unusual size Date Fifteenth century

NOTICES OF EARLY HELMETS PRESERVED IN THE ARMOURY AT PARHAM PARK, SUSSEX.

By the LORD ZOUCHE.

In a former volume of this journal, in 1865,[1] a notice was given of sixteen early helmets, preserved in the armoury at Parham Park, Sussex. A further notice of twenty-three ancient helmets, with woodcuts, is now presented to the reader. As they are all English, except when the contrary is mentioned, they may be considered as interesting memorials of the history of this country, as well as affording proofs of the exact accuracy in which the real armour was copied, on the monumental effigies of the middle ages.

It is known whence all these helmets, and many others, come from, and to whom most of them belonged, but this information has not been given here, as it would swell the dimensions of a short paper into the size of a small volume, which would not be suitable to the present occasion.

They are arranged chronologically, as far as their dates can be ascertained with any certainty.

I. Anglo-Saxon helmet. This was found in a drain at Oxford, with a square iron bell, which had been coated with copper, a double-headed axe (*bipennis*), also the remains of a sword-blade and a spear-head, and some other pieces of iron.

This is the oldest piece of *iron* European armour that I am acquainted with, though it is difficult to assign an exact date to it. It may be of the seventh or eighth century.

The only older specimens of iron armour (not arms) that I have seen, are three helmets, brought by Mr. Layard from Nineveh, which are now in the British Museum.

II. Anglo-Saxon, date about A.D. 800. This was dug up in a field in Oxfordshire, and was shown at the Ironmongers'

[1] Arch. Journ., vol. xxii. p. 1—13.

exhibition in 1861.[2] It is made of several pieces riveted together. Helmets like it are seen on early sculptures, and in illuminations of the ninth and tenth centuries.

III. Helmet of the time of William the Conqueror, resembling those portrayed in the Bayeux tapestry. It is possibly one of those used at the battle of Hastings. With it, in the Parham armoury, is a heart-shaped shield of thin bronze, with a Wyvern embossed upon it; this has been mounted on wood. It was found in a dyke or earthwork at Kingston-on-Hull, on the banks of the Humber.

IV. Probably very ancient, perhaps of the twelfth century. It was dredged out of the river Thames at Radcot Bridge, near Abingdon, with some pieces of chain armour, which, however, were not older than the fourteenth century, dating, probably, from the battle fought there in 1387. The cross on the forehead is of brass or gold.

This may be a peculiarly-shaped basinet of the fourteenth century, but I should think, from its nasal and eyelids, and the way in which it is riveted together, not welded, that it must be much earlier.

V. This helmet is of a remarkably beautiful outline; it is very difficult to assign an exact date to it. It is either a peculiar form of basinet of the fourteenth century, or what seems more likely, from the way it is riveted together, and the general form and character, it may be of the twelfth century.

It is said to have belonged to Sir — Wyville, who slew the "grete worme" of Slingsby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1140; but, according to the Ballad, it was Lambton of Lambton, who slew the "laidlie worme" in the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. I may observe that all helmets and armour were riveted together, and not welded, till about the year 1300.

VI. Hood of chain mail, the rings not riveted. It has part of the original leather lining remaining.

VII. A hood of chain mail, with a visor which lifts up with a hinge upon the forehead. The links are large and

[2] Catalogue of Antiquities exhibited at Ironmonger's Hall, London, p. 153, where this very curious specimen is figured. It is probably unique. It is there ascribed to the middle of the twelfth century.

not riveted. This is an example of mail of the thirteenth century.

VIII. Cylindrical Norman helmet of the twelfth century. This remarkable specimen is of the same form as the one on the effigy of Geoffrey de Mandeville, in the Temple Church. It has a quartrefoil inclosing a cross, upon the flat top of the helmet; the piece under the chin seems to have had an aventaille fastened to it with a hinge.

IX. Cylindrical helmet of the thirteenth century, with a moveable aventaille, opening with a hinge on the left side. It has been painted blue.

X. Cylindrical helmet of the thirteenth century; a very fine example. It has had a tremendous blow, perhaps with a heavy battle-axe, on the forehead.

XI. Open cylindrical helmet of the latter part of the thirteenth century. It belonged to a knight of the order of St. Anthony, and has the Tau, or crutch of the saint, and the word ANTHON, embossed upon the flat top. The order of St. Anthony was established by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1298, which is about the date of this helmet. The effigy of Sir Roger De Bois, in Ingham Church, Norfolk, has the insignia of the order of St. Anthony; but that monument having been erected many years after Sir Roger's death, the armour is represented of the fashion when it was sculptured, not when Sir Roger died—an artful trap for unsuspicious antiquaries.[3]

XII. Helmet of Robert Bruce, King of Scots, who died July 9, 1329. There are some plausible reasons for supposing that this really was the helmet of the great king of Scotland. It was long preserved as such by the family of Maclaughlan, and it is certainly of that date, though very peculiar in form, and unlike any other that I have seen.

XIII. Tilting helmet. A.D. 1280—1320. This has an additional plate on the forehead, and another on the left side of the head. I have not seen any other like it; but there

[3] The effigies of a knight and lady at Ingham, Norfolk, have been ascribed, on the authority of an inscription preserved by Blomefield, to Sir Roger de Boys and his wife Margaret. The knight and his lady wear long mantles; on the right shoulder of each is a circular badge bearing the Tau and the letters—ANTHON—precisely as on the helmet at Parham. Stothard, Monum. Eff., No. 58, p. 52.

formerly existed a wooden figure of Philippe de Valois, in the church of Notre Dame at Paris: it was an equestrian figure, with the real helmet, surcoat, and housings of the horse; it was destroyed in the great revolution, but there is an engraving of it, in Montfaucon, with a helmet, the same as this, which is, however, English, and not French.[4]

XIV. Tilting helmet. A.D. 1280. This fine helmet has the original chain, to fasten it to one of the mammelons (circular pieces of metal, worn on the breast); the other mammelon had a chain, to which the sword-hilt was attached, as seen on monumental effigies of the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries.

XV. Tilting helmet of the year 1401. Worn over the basinet at this period and in the fourteenth century. This one weighs 12 pounds 12 ounces.

XVI. Tilting helmet and gauntlets. A.D. 1380. The staple at the back is for fastening on the lambrequins, a sort of housings worn under the crest, as seen in heraldic achievements, in drawings also, and engravings.

XVII. Basinet with a visor. This singular helmet is not English; it came from the south of Germany, and is characteristic of the quaint forms of armour in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Worn by the knights of the Holy Roman Empire.

XVIII. Visored basinet, with a singularly long-peaked visor, or beak. Its date is A.D. 1350; it has a double piece of steel on the forehead, and the little roses round the neck seem to be of gold. The flat place on the top of the crown is for fastening, on the crest, a swan's head, or a demi-swan, or the like. This is a wonderfully quaint piece of English armour: it may, however, have been made abroad; it is of very fine workmanship.

XIX. Helmet of the beginning of the fifteenth century, of a complicated construction; the beaver opens on the left side with a hinge; the visor does not open at all, a strap and buckle keeps it together round the neck. It resembles in its general character the helmet of Richard Beauchamp,

[4] Montfaucon, Monarchie Française, tom. ii. p. 286, pl. 49.

Earl of Warwick, now preserved at Warwick Castle. The projection on the top is for fastening on the crest.

XX. Salade of the fifteenth century forged in one piece. This kind of helmet was commonly worn during the fifteenth century, all over Europe. This one belonged to one of the knights of Rhodes, another in the Parham collection, exactly similar, has a French armourer's mark.

XXI. Visored salade of the fifteenth century. This has been smaller, but has been opened down the middle, and a piece let in, to fit a man with a larger head.

XXII. A curious jointed helmet of the fifteenth century. This is the kind of helmet represented in Caxton's woodcuts and in block books. It is made of more than twenty pieces. One, the circular ear pieces wanting, is in the Meyrick collection ; this is quite perfect.[5]

XXIII. Immense tilting helmet of the fifteenth century. The whole suit of armour belonging to it, with its shield, is at Parham, the only one now existing in England (1871). This helmet is 20 in. high, 3 ft. 5 in. round the head, and weighs 15 lbs. 2 oz.

From a long continued study of very early armour and military antiquities, I have come to the conclusion that weapons of bronze continued to be used at a comparatively late period, because the sword (*Ferrum*) was made of iron, and was little or no better, as a cutting instrument, than those of the metal composed of copper and tin. The famous swords of chivalry, such as Joyeuse, the sword of Charlemagne, now preserved at Vienna, and Durandana, the sword of Orlando, now at Madrid, were held in such esteem because they were not made of iron, but of steel, which made all the difference.

The armour of chain mail, represented on monumental effigies of the Knights Templars and other personages of the thirteenth century, was made of large rings ; the earliest rings were each forged separately, and were made of triangular or quadrangular bits of iron ; but later, when the art

[5] Skelton, Engraved Illustrations of Armour at Goodrich Court, vol. i. plate viii. Swabian Suit of Tournament Armour, date 1543. The helmet is described as a "Coursing-hat."

of wire-drawing in iron was discovered, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the rings were made of strong, thick wire; but later than that period they were never riveted. It must be observed that although thick iron wire seems to have been unknown before, about the year 1300, thin gold, and silver and copper wire, was used at a very early period, as is shown in many specimens of *cloisonné* enamel.

Riveted chain armour was brought into Europe, for the first time, from the East, by the soldiers of the Crusades, and I believe that the earliest specimens of riveted chain armour now in existence in Europe are oriental, and none of it older than the first half of the fourteenth century.

Before that time I believe all the chain armour, of which the rings were as big as sixpences, were sewn on to leather, or strong linen tunics and stockings, but the lighter and later riveted chain mail was not sewn on to anything, but was worn over other clothing.

The maseled armour, seen in illuminations and painted glass, was composed of diamond-shaped pieces of iron, fastened by leather thongs, the same as boot laces, to strong cuirasses of bull's hide or buck-skin, as is shown by the solitary example still in existence at Parham.

The chain armour represented on monuments, in a kind of stripes, was composed of interlaced iron rings, every other row of rings being threaded with a lace of raw hide. This kind of armour is still worn in Circassia and the northern parts of India and Persia. As it is quite stiff, it is only used in those countries for collars and those parts of the armour which do not require to be bent, and is often lined with padded velvet.

The most ancient iron plate armour was always made up with small pieces of iron riveted together; there were six or seven pieces in a helmet. Shields were not made of iron or covered with iron, but were of wood, covered with brass, often gilt, probably sometimes of gold, and were usually very ornamental. Ancient illuminations show that the shield was almost an article of furniture before the eleventh or twelfth century. The victorious general was elevated on a shield in Roman and Byzantine times, it was used as a table and as a tray in the Norman days, and was hung up upon the wall of the castle hall as an ornament and mark of honour to its possessor, a custom which still lingers on in the instance

of the hatchments, or atchievements, hung over the door of the house after the death of its owner.

The armour and helmets before the year 1300, more or less, being always made of small pieces of iron riveted together, forms a guide to ascertain the date of those rare relics. After the year 1300 pieces of armour first began to be braced together. I have never seen any pieces of iron braced together before that period, and about this time also iron was apparently hardened, it may be called case hardened, by hammering it when cold, after having been heated in the forge, and plunged while hot into cold water, in which acids, leather, and other things, were soaked, and which were supposed to temper the iron.

The Central Committee desire to record the expression of their grateful esteem of the renewed liberality of the Lord Zouche, by whom the whole of the illustrations of the foregoing memoir have been contributed.

ON THE TRUE NATURE OF THE CONTORNIATE MEDALS.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

"Hos porro dignos arbitror quorum describendis elegantiis, et enodandis ænigmatibus curiosæ mentes suam impendant curam, nondum enim licuit eorum originem assequi."[1] So spoke the father of numismatics, Charles Patin, two centuries ago, in allusion to that very singular class of medals, the *Contorniati;* and the "enigmas" proposed to archæologists by the existence of these curious pieces remain, in spite of all subsequent attempts, as far from any satisfactory solution as in his day. All who have treated of the subject, beginning with Du Cange, followed by Patin himself, Havercamp, Morel, and lastly, Sabatier, agree in considering the *Contorniati* as *medals* in the modern sense of the word; that is, not current coins, but pieces issued expressly to perpetuate the memory of illustrious men and celebrities of every grade—philosophers, poets, historians, equally with stage players, circus-racers, and organists.

But this explanation is open to many insuperable objections. If issued by imperial command for so important a purpose, one would naturally expect to find in them the best specimens of the medallic art of their own times, as in the parallel case of modern medals, which always display higher style and execution than does the contemporary coinage, though the same engraver may have cut the dies for both. But it is quite the reverse with the pieces under consideration; their *fabrique* is infinitely more careless than that of the current mintage of their own period, even adopting Du Cange's limitation of their issue to the interval of decadence between Constantine and Honorius,[2]—much more so, if we assume any to be coæval with those early Cæsars whose portraits many of them present. The strongest evidence of this carelessness in their creation lies in the fact of

[1] Hist. Num. Introd. c. xviii.

[2] De Inf. Ævi Num. p. 43.

the whole class being invariably made by *casting*, not by striking from dies—an economy in production that bespeaks the work of a wholesale manufacturer, not the issue from an imperial mint, where no trouble or expense would be spared when the object was to do honour to the individual so commemorated. The true medallions throughout the series are a case in point, the carefulness of their execution being proportionate to their superiority in volume. Furthermore, if the Contorniati were *honorific* memorials, why is their material always the basest of the three metals? why do they never occur in silver, much less in gold, like the medallions which were devised for precisely the same object, although restricting their honours to the members of the reigning family?—and this poverty of material is a consideration of some weight in this inquiry, inasmuch as the only ancient reference anywhere found to the striking a *medal*, in its modern acceptation, proves that the most precious was in such a case preferred. This was done in honour of Alexander by his namesake Severus: "Alexandri habitu nummos *plurimos* figuravit, et quidem electrinos aliquantos, sed plurimos tamen *aureos*." But as nothing bearing the image of Alexander, executed in the peculiar style of the virtuous Syrian's age (excepting Colonel Leake's problematical piece), has come down to us, notwithstanding the *very large quantity* thus related to have been struck (some of which would certainly have survived, owing to the superstitious veneration in which the portrait was held under the Lower Empire), it necessarily follows that the emperor only *restored* the Macedonian's *staters* in exact facsimile, in the same manner as Trajan had done before him with the consular and imperial denarii of his predecessors. Such *restored* pieces were put again into circulation, for the medallions themselves were intended for public use, being merely multiples of the ordinary gold, silver, and bronze coins. For instance, Lampridius terms the huge medallions of the extravagant Heliogabalus "Formas binarias, ternarias, quaternarias, et denarias etiam atque amplius usque ad *bilibres* aut centenarias,"[3] all of which his successor called in and recoined into subdivisions of the regular *aureus*. And Capitolinus mentions, amongst the other frolics of L. Verus, his tossing bronze medallions

[3] Alex. Sev. c. xxxix.

upon the counter in the wineshops, for the purpose of breaking the glasses: "Jactabat et nummos in popinis *maximos*, quibus calices frangeret." [4]

Another striking peculiarity in their make is left unaccounted for by the current acceptation of their object, and this is the evident care taken to render the edge perfectly circular, which may indeed have occasioned the preference for casting to striking in their manufacture, it being a matter of impossibility to produce a perfectly round piece with the simple die and hammer, the only coining implements then known. Still less does the same theory explain the object of the raised rim, *contorno*, that most conspicuous characteristic of their appearance, and which has given its appellation to the whole class. These two striking peculiarities are indeed what supplied me with the long-sought clue for unravelling the whole mystery, and suggested a theory as to the real destination of the pieces so distinguished, which, to myself at least, answers all the requirements of the problem in a more plausible manner than anything that has hitherto been advanced. Another marked feature in the class for which no reasonable explanation has yet been proposed is the *nature of the reverses* to these medals: what so powerful reason occasioned their being invariably drawn from the theatre or the circus; and the very restricted number of types so selected—for the most part the successful *auriga*, with his name attached, either depicted in all his glory, moving triumphantly along in his car, or else as leading before the applauding spectators his favourite horse, the *Scorpus* or *Volucer* [5] of the day? Though such reverses might be appropriate enough for medals bearing on the other side the portrait of that grand *turpitude*, Nero, yet it is impossible to discover their connection with the frugal Vespasian or the virtuous Trajan. Still more out of character do such figures appear on the medals commemorating Homer, or Terence, or Sallust, or Horace; but when they accompany a philosopher's head, as in the case of Socrates, poor Havercamp is driven to the ludicrous expedient of interpreting the design as reading a lesson to athletes of the wondrous power of philosophy in reclaim-

[4] Verus, c. iv.

[5] So great a favourite with the Green faction that a purse (*modius*) of gold pieces was often collected for him after a race. Verus, c. vi.

ing and bringing to perfect virtue a naturally bad disposition![6]

But to come to another point: the similarity in the style and execution of the reverses, however widely the imperial portraits or the obverse may seem to be separated in date; the almost exact correspondence of the pieces themselves, in size, pattern, and finish of the field, strongly support Du Cange's opinion of their being altogether the production of a not very extensive series of years; otherwise changes of taste and fashion had inevitably brought about easily discernible alterations in some one or other of these particulars.

The same conclusion is fairly to be drawn from the circumstance that one and the same *auriga*, Eutimius, is commemorated equally on Contorniati bearing the head of Nero and of Honorius; for it is preposterous pedantry to suppose with Havercamp that this personage is the deified *hieronica*, Euthymius the Locrian, who flourished in the times of Xerxes! It is quite enough to observe that the superior popularity of a charioteer chancing to bear this name will amply account for his appearing more frequently upon works of one period than those minor stars of the circus, his brethren Alsan, Pannonius, Philocomus, Stefanus, Ursus, &c., whose fame has been transmitted to all future time through the same medium.

The only objection that can be brought against Du Cange's settlement of their date lies in the evident superiority of style in the *obverses* with the heads of Nero and the early Cæsars, a circumstance which has induced many to attribute the making of these particular pieces to the reigns to which they pretend to belong. But the true answer is, that for all such pieces the obverse-matrix was taken from an old medallion of the emperor in requisition, for all these portraits betray easily recognisable marks of sand-casting, afterwards tooled up; whilst the reverses of the self-same medals exhibit as debased a style as those bearing the image and superscription of Honorius himself. All these considerations tend to one conclusion, that the Contorniati were no more than trade-articles, made by the braziers of the Lower Empire, and sold for some purpose

[6] Dissert. de Num. Contorn. p. 149.

of amusement, (as the trivial character of their reverses demonstrates) but for what special object they were intended is the knotty point that now remains to be discussed.

The surest way of approaching this question, upon which no light whatever is shed by even incidental notices to be extracted from ancient writers, is to search amongst relics of antiquity whose use is clearly ascertained, for anything analogous in form or decoration to the objects now under investigation. And here the first glimpse of the truth dawned upon me from a very unpromising quarter, a large collection of antique pastes belonging to our Disney Professor :

> "Via prima salutis,
> Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe."

Amongst these my attention was caught by several glass disks of uniform size and pattern, which on very sufficient grounds are identified by antiquaries with the glass *latrunculi* or draughtsmen, mentioned by Ovid, Martial, and Pliny.[7] They are the size of a penny piece, round, flat and thin, finished off with a moulded border, and bear in relief a head applied in paste of a different colour. Again, in draughtsmen of Indian make the raised rim is a very conspicuous feature ; in this point and in general figure they bear a wonderful resemblance to the Contorniati, and such is the unchangeableness of Hindoo fashions, that they may safely be assumed as identical in form with their prototypes of twenty centuries ago. The primitive draughtsmen were indeed, as their names πεσσοί, ψήφοι, *calculi*, denote, merely pebbles of two different colours, and these continued in use to the last amongst people unable to afford their more artificial substitutes. An interesting exemplification of this was lately brought to light at that English Pompeii, Chesterford, where, in company with a wooden bronze-hooped *situla*, was found a set of pebbles the size of eggs, highly polished, and evidently brought from a distant coast, their material being granite and serpentine. But the shape to which the πεσσοί were reduced by art is significantly preserved by the transference of the name *pessus* to the surgical appliance *a suppository*, or flat perforated disk of wood of the same thickness and

[7] Mart vii 72, "vitreus latro." Plin. xxxvi. 67, "calculi quos quidam abaculos appellant."

diameter. In all probability the clay disks, variously impressed, often found amongst Roman remains in this country, popularly called *dinders*, but regarded by antiquaries as the actual *nummi fictiles* mentioned by ancient authors,[8] were only cheap home-made substitutes for the elegant glass men. Passing to the other extreme, Martial describes the same playthings as made of a *gem*,[9] most likely meaning agate, long used in Syria for the purpose, as the far-famed chess-board of S. Louis remains to testify. The actual devices of the Contorniati are perpetuated upon the early mediæval draughtsmen, a conclusive evidence of the common nature of both; Gothic usage being only the antique barbarised and depraved. One in bone (Londesborough Coll.) referred to the tenth century, is engraved with a mounted archer in flat relief; another in walrus-tooth, probably of the twelfth, presents a lion centaur wielding a club. Both offer other points of resemblance to their Roman predecessors in their ornamental margins, and large diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. respectively.[1] I have been unable to discover any notice in the classics of *latrunculi* purposely made in metal, although Pollux has a[2] long section upon the πεσσοὶ, the different requirements of the game, its varieties, and the names of the throws of the dice[3] used therein as in our backgammon. But that actual coins came in occasionally as genteeler representatives of the glass men (*res omnium delicatissima* as Petronius calls the notion[4]) is shown by his reference to Trimalchio's terebinthine board with its gold and silver denarii instead of *calculi*. It is easy therefore to conceive how the advance of taste, refining upon this refinement, thought it more consistent with the dignity of the game to replace the vulgar current coin by pieces made expressly for the purpose, having

[8] Suidas, "Numa." "De Rebus Bellicis," cap. "De inhibenda largitate."

[9] xxv. 20, "gemmeus miles."

[1] Amongst the *débris* of mediæval London, leaden counters often turn up, rudely stamped with a king's or a bishop's head. Mr. C. Roach Smith, who has figured many specimens of them in his Catalogue, is of opinion that they were *tokens* for small change issued by taverns bearing such heads for their signs; as became the universal practice under the Commonwealth, though in another metal. But such usurpation of the royal prerogative would never have been ventured upon under the Plantagenets and Tudors; whilst the usual device of the reverse which the learned antiquary himself explains as a *pair of tables*, proves to demonstration that these counters were the actual pieces used in playing at what made "tavern" and "chequers" equivalent terms.

[2] Onomasticon, vii. 205.

[3] Of which two were called Midas, and Manes, after those famous Phrygian and Lydian kings: there seems a certain analogy in the notion of ornamenting the calculi with imperial portraits.

[4] Satyricon, xxxiii. 2.

the appearance though not the reality of money; exactly the same revolution that produced our card counters in silver, or gilt brass, formerly so much in fashion.

The *material* itself of the Contorniati brings additional support to my hypothesis, some being of mixed metal remarkably gold-like in color and much resembling pinchbeck, others in pure copper, both equally distinct from the substance of the regular bronze coinage. Such differences in color were amply sufficient, so long as the pieces were bright, to distinguish the two sides—that primary necessity of the game. Or we may suppose that the male portraits discriminated one side, the female the other; or the same object may have been attained by the one player keeping his obverses, the other his reverses turned uppermost. And in the heads commonly ornamenting the glass *latrunculi* (even disallowing the claims of the Contorniati to that office) may lurk the reason for the change of sex in the French nomenclature which transforms our *man* into *dame*. The explanation now offered may serve, in some measure, to elucidate the use (though not the composition) of the inexplicable monogram, seemingly formed of P, L, E, so frequently stamped in the field of these medals, as well as the silver palm branch inlaid upon others. The calculi are divided by Isidorus into three classes, the *ordinarii*, that could only move one way; the *vagi*, free from such limitation; and the *inciti*, that could not be moved at all. May not these countermarks, which occur on only a minority of the number, have served to distinguish the more important pieces from the rest?

The incredible mania for horse-racing that possessed Romans and Byzantines, (citizens whose sole thought was "panem et circenses,") and which went on growing in force with the decadence of the empire, is quite sufficient, without seeking other causes, to account for the nature of the subjects on the reverse. The same passion that ornamented pavements, armour, plate, signets, with chariots and race-horses, more appropriately displayed itself upon these play-things intended to beguile the weary hours when the circus was closed.

Lastly, some argument as to their real character may be found in their present plentifulness when compared with the true medallions. The number of them still preserved is

absolutely large, considering that they were manufactured at the capital alone, for they only turn up in Italy itself, intercourse with the provinces being embarrassed by the distresses of those late and evil times to which their origin is due. And if a recollection of the considerable number of men required to set out one board upon the present system should occur to anyone as an objection to my estimate of the plentifulness of the Contorniati (which, so compared, *ought* to be much more abundant than they are), the reply is found in the statement of Pollux, that the ancient game was played with no more than five πεσσοὶ (on each side must be meant), whence Sophocles' *pentegramma* as a synonym for the board.[5]

There remains to be considered a single, but very important exception (as it at first appears) to the rule that none of these medals have any historical value. This is the one displaying a certain BONIFATIVS in a chariot of four horses or four stags, and which ever since Du Cange lavished the stores of his erudition upon its elucidation[6] has been implicitly received as issued to record the triumph of *Bonifacius*, the celebrated general of Valentinian III. But, in truth, the connection of the medal with the heroic betrayer of Africa rests on the coincidence of name alone (an extremely popular one in his age); the personage thus honoured being no other than a circus-driver, for he is depicted in exactly the same figure, attitude, and costume as his compeers. Eutimius or Stefanus, whose profession does not admit of doubt. But his character is declared beyond all dispute by the *whip* raised aloft in his hand, the proper badge of the *auriga*, but never carried by the triumphant general, whose steeds were *led* by attendants appropriately attired, whilst he himself bore the eagle-tipped ivory sceptre—"volucrem quæ sceptro surgit eburno," the proper concomitant of the *tunica palmata*. The nature of the four monograms in the exergue, where the too acute Havercamp, eager to outdo his great master, reads the long legend, "Domina Nostra Placidia Augusta Restituit,"[7] may be confidently determined from the Contorniato of Honorius, which preserves at full length the name of the winner "Eugenius," equally with those of his horses, "Achilleus, Desiderius, Speciosus,

[5] Onom. ix. 97.
[6] De Inf. Ævi Num. p. 41.
[7] Dissert. de Num. Contorn. p. 125.

Dignus;"[8] or from that other, wherein "Eutimius" presents himself with his pair, "Tyrius" and "Carthago."

In fact, any one practised in unravelling monograms will perceive at the first glance that those underneath the car of Bonifatius cannot possibly contain more than *four* words (one for each horse manifestly), whilst the second of them will yield, after a slight analysis, the elements of RHODANVS. That the names of famous *rivers* were, from an obvious appropriateness, often bestowed upon race-horses, is well known from both classical and monumental authority, which gives us Euphrates,[9] Orontes, Tiberis, &c., thus applied to the favourites of the course. Into what a quagmire of absurdity the archæologist may be led by once getting into the wrong track, and persistently following out the same, is amusingly exemplified by Havercamp, in the case of the lately quoted medal. He construes the names of Eugenius and his team into the acclamations addressed to Honorius by the assembled multitude in the circus (supporting his assertion by an apposite quotation from Claudian): "Qui Honorium tanquam *Achilli* parem, *desideratum* a republica, *nobiliter* natum, imperio *dignum*, et *speciosum* imperatoria forma sua, celebrarunt!"[1]

The Leake medallion, mentioned in the text, was found in Thessaly, and is of the *medalo* of the largest Roman First brass; it has the field carefully hammered to an edge all round, clearly for the purpose of entering a frame. It bears for obverse a bust of Pallas, a very weak copy from that upon the *stater*; for reverse Alexander on horseback encountering a lion. Legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The general opinion was that this supposed unique piece was only a Cinquecento forgery, until M. Feuardent, the eminent French numismatist, on a recent visit to the Fitzwilliam Museum (where the Leake collection is deposited) discovered that it is identical in size and *fabrique*, though not in type, with three others, commemorating Alexander and his father, found at Tarsus (1863), in company with *aurei* of Severus Alexander. These medallions weigh about 2 oz. each, the equivalent to 10 aurei of that period. From M. Feuardent they were acquired by the Cabinet of the Bibliothèque Impériale. Engravings of them, with the other coins and jewels of the treasure-trove, will be found in the Revue Numismatique for the year 1868.

[8] A gem (Impronte Gemmarie, v. 87) exhibits the actual *quadriga* at full speed carrying Victory *in propria persona* holding up the wreath triumphal; and gives the names of the horses in *Greek* letters. They are Eutyches, Torquatus, Alcimus, Aquilo.

[9] The Barcelona mosaic, Martial, &c.

[1] l. c. p. 120.

EXCAVATIONS IN ROME DURING THE WINTER 1870-71.

The excavations in Rome this season have been so numerous and so important that it is difficult to know where to begin a description of them, but it seems natural to begin with those that were made under the direction of the British Archæological Society, or in connection with them.

1. At the beginning of the season it was ascertained that the tenant of a large vineyard or garden outside of the Porta Portese (or Portuensis) near the Tiber, at the south end of Rome on the western side of the river, was about to have the ground trenched from one end to the other to improve the soil, and as the wall of Aurelian must have passed through that ground, it was thought a good opportunity, by having the trenches made rather deeper than usual, to be able to see the exact line that it took. In this we succeeded; we found the foundations in three places, and the direction was straight towards the Emporium and the Marmorata, on the opposite side of the Tiber.

2. The next point to which our attention was directed was to the vineyard of Signor Brocard, between the Thermæ of Caracalla and the road (the Via Appia), in which the Porticus is situated that was begun by Caracalla and completed by Elogabalus. We are told by the historian of his life that when this work was completed this was the richest part of Rome, and it is probable that a good deal more will be found here in future seasons. We had begun last season, and could go on more easily there than elsewhere. We have now shown that under each of the arches of this long arcade (called porticus) were bath chambers; alternately one long chamber and two smaller ones, with doorways from each of the smaller ones into the one long one. This alternative arrangement is continued all along the arcade; it would therefore have been a useless expense to carry this part of the excavation any further. At the south end we found the *specus* of the aqueduct to carry the

water to these baths, running along at the back, just under the surface of the ground, and carried upon the top of the back wall. This wall does not go very deep, and is then carried on earth only. Our pit was considerably deeper than the bottom of the wall; we went down to the depth of 30 ft., and then found an old pavement with water on it. The water has been unusually high in Rome the whole of this season, and the excavations have been impeded by it in several places. This work was carried on at that depth in the direction of the great central building of the *Thermæ* at the south-east corner. Several walls were found faced with brick of the time of the Emperor Hadrian, and some with his brick stamps. One of these walls also has fresco paintings upon it. This extends in the direction of the other house in the adjoining garden of the Cavalier Guidi, excavated in 1868, and *miscalled* the Villa of Asinius Pollio, for which name there is no authority. In all probability it all belongs to one large building, and that was the private house of the Emperor Hadrian himself, (called in the Regionary catalogue "Privata Hadriana" in this Regio,) like the house of Nero under the thermæ of Titus, so this house of Hadrian was under the southern part of the great thermæ of the Antonines, now called after Antoninus Caracalla.

In another part of the vineyard of Signor Brocard also, under the west end of the Church of S. Cæsareo, another pit has been dug, and a series of foundation walls of some extensive buildings have been found. These buildings seem to have extended under the church. Among the ruins found here are two marble columns, one of which has the base *in situ;* the other has the base also, but detached. This has the appearance of having been a colonnade of small columns; a similar colonnade was found by Guidi some years since, *in front* of S. Cæsareo, and another similar one was found in 1869 in some excavations in front of S. Sisto Vecchio, between that and the road. These colonnades are all parallel to the Via Appia, and as such a colonnade of small columns is called in Greek *Xystus*, some persons think that S. Sisto Vecchio was originally the old *Xystus*, and S. Cæsareo perhaps the "Mutatorium Cæsaris," which was in this Regio, and the site of which has not been found. It is supposed to have been the "Royal Exchange" of ancient Rome, and therefore placed near the principal entrance from the south,

and near the junction of the Via Latina with the Via Appia; but all this is mere conjecture. The legends of the saints "Sixtus and Cæsareo" are, however, of comparatively late date, and of doubtful authority.

3. Some slight excavations were made to find out the line of the Aqueducts along the Via Latina. The lower chambers of a large *piscina* or *castellum aquæ* were found near the Porta Furba, at two miles from the Porta Maggiore; the vault of it is only a few feet under ground. The water must have come from one of the great aqueducts; the situation is between this and the road to Frascati and Tusculum. It is believed to have been a branch of the Anio Vetus, which is generally found near the level of the ground, or only just under ground. From thence the *specus* was traced in a stone quarry at the back of the "Albergo dei Spiriti," two miles from Rome on the Via Appia Nova. The distance is about a quarter of a mile across from one road to the other. The quarry had fallen in and brought the *specus* to light. It was then traced again by the side of the Via Latina, where there are remains of a *piscina* against the bank or cliff on which the road is there carried, about a mile from the Porta Latina. Thence the aqueduct does not follow the road but goes again in a cliff to another lane that runs parallel to the Via Latina on the southern side of it, and near that lane the *specus* was found on a brick arcade, made more distinct by a little digging. It was then traced along the bank of this lane (which is a deep fosse-way) to the railway which cuts through it. Near to the wall of Rome in this part, and after passing on, appearing to be only the hedge bank of a garden in a direct line towards that point, it passes through the city wall, then underground through the vineyard in which is the small hill called Monte d'Auro, and then over the arch of Drusus, just inside the Porta di S. Sebastiano, by the side of which one of the arches of the arcade on which the specus was carried remains; the rest have been destroyed in this part, but remain further on, near the Porta Ardeatina. It then goes against another bank to the great *piscina* and reservoir of the *thermæ* of Caracalla.

4. Another excavation of considerable interest was carried on upon the Viminal Hill, on the northern side, just opposite the church of S. Vitale, which stands against the cliff of the Quirinal. Permission was obtained from Monsignor de

Merode, to whom the property then belonged; and Signor Rosa, the head of the Commission of Archæology, when the property came into the hands of the municipality of Rome permitted the excavations to be continued, on condition that nothing found should be exported. Here remains of ancient buildings were formerly visible, and had been partially excavated on previous occasions, in the time of Flaminius Vacca, and again in the time of Canina; but the ancient remains had been buried again, and no drawing of them preserved. The result of the later investigations has been to bring to light more clearly the foundations of two towers against the cliff, the walls of which are of tufa, in the style of the kings of Rome, and which belonged to the original fortifications when the Viminal was a separate fortress, with its arx or citadel near this part. Just below one of these towers a cave was found dug out of the rock, described by Flaminius Vacca as a cave of Mithras; but the exact site of it was not known. It had been thoroughly rifled in his time; but the niches remain in the wall, and three short marble columns were found which had served as bases for images. These have since been stolen, Signor Rosa having refused his permission to put up a door at the entrance, saying, "*That* was the duty of the Government, and he would do it himself," which will perhaps be done some years hence. On one side of this cave is a deep pit, which might be either a bath (?) or a place for stone coffins (?). The Cavaliere Visconti, who has paid special attention to the worship of Mithras, says this is *not* a Mithræum, and he is disposed to think it a very early tomb, perhaps the tomb of one of the kings of Rome (?). Near this is the *specus* or tunnel of an aqueduct cut in the rock; it was traced back for about a hundred yards into the hill in the direction of the great aqueducts on the eastern side of Rome. Here, also, permission to put up a door was refused by Signor Rosa, and these two interesting old caves have ever since they were dug out been used by the population of the neighbourhood as receptacles for ordure.

A little farther to the east along this cliff is one side of a house of two storeys of the time of the Republic, about a century before the Christian era. The wall is built of concrete, and is hollow, a space of about two feet wide being left in it, in order to keep the inner surface of the wall dry,

as it stands against the cliff, which is a very common arrangement in Rome. The wall is faced with that rude kind of reticulated work, or net-work, called by Vitruvius *opus incertum*, similar to that of the Emporium.

On a lower level in front of the towers and cave before mentioned are the remains of the Lavacrum of Agrippina, identified by an inscription found there by Canina. The building (which is extensive, and only partly excavated even now) therefore belongs to the first half century of the Christian era. We excavated three chambers, in which we found a fine mosaic pavement and painted walls. The paintings that remain are small figures, of no great importance; and as Signor Rosa refused us permission to export them if we had the plaster detached (which could easily have been done at a moderate expense), we left them in their places, and they were shortly afterwards destroyed by boys, who amused themselves by pelting them with stones. This is the first instance of the practical application of the pontifical law of 1820, since its revival by Signor Rosa, who forbids any excavations being made or any antiquities exported without his permission, and giving him a weekly report of what is found. It is a law more fit for the ninth century than the nineteenth, and one which might well have been left in oblivion, and not posted up all over the walls of Rome, as revived by the new Government.

5. On the Aventine the pit under S. Saba, which we had dug last year, and which had been partially kept open, was cleared out in order to show the Society the tufa facing of the concrete wall of the ancient fort there to protect the gate of the Servian CITY; it corresponds with the other fort opposite to it, under S. Prisca, the two being at the two angles of the gorge in the cliffs, at the narrow end of which was the gate; and at this point the four roads meet, or perhaps, more strictly, two roads cross each other. Close to this point of junction is the stone quarry made out of the ancient aqueducts, in which seven distinct aqueducts met (or perhaps seven branches only), all of which cast their water into the lowest *specus*, that of the Appia, which crossed the fosse-way at this gate. Here also some further excavations were made.

6. Another pit, 24 ft. deep, was dug in the garden of the monks of S. Gregory, in continuation of the one previously

dug on the site of the Porta Capena, but here the tufa wall had been removed; we found the pavement of the Via Appia, and fragments of the gateway of Domitian, who rebuilt that gate of travertine, according to the custom of his time; we ascertained that there were two arches to this gate, the one found in 1871 being to the east of the one found in 1869. The work was interrupted by water, which was much higher than it was two years since, when we made our previous pit here. The monks had been very friendly to us, and had given us leave to open the pit by paying ten pounds to their *Locataire* (the middle man who stands between the monks and the actual gardener), to which he had assented. But as soon as the pit was dug he required a further payment of twenty pounds to keep it open for six months. We therefore agreed to its being filled up again as soon as we had obtained plans, drawings, and photographs of what was found.

7. At the Mamertine Prison the subterranean passage from the "Prison of S. Peter" to the other part of the prison, under the south end or modern part of the Via di Marforio and the Vicolo del Ghettarello, probably the part called the *Lautumiæ*,[1] having been originally stone quarries (?). These two parts were connected by a subterranean passage 36 yards long, 2 feet wide, and 5 feet high, of which we have now cleared out 30 yards, and have reached as far as the foundations of the houses where the vault has been broken through. The wall and the vault of this passage are of very early construction, and seem certainly earlier than the Empire, possibly as early as the time of the Kings, which is the probable date of the walls of the prison. The construction of this vaulted passage is almost identical with that of the Cloaca Maxima.

8. At S. Clement's the worthy Father Mullooly, during our absence last summer, had carried on his excavations and found a Mithræum, or cave of Mithras, at the lowest level, and behind the site of the altar of his church. This Mithræum is beyond the wall of Servius Tullius, and the brick wall of the time of the Emperor Hadrian, parallel to it, at 2 ft. distance, which many will remember. It was, therefore, within the city, and made in the inner fosse, while

[1] See Livy, Hist. xxvi. 27, xxxii. 26, xxxvii. 3, xxxix. 44.

the church stood in the outer fosse. There was no communication or opening through the wall until Father Mullooly himself made a hole through it into what he thought was the private oratory of S. Clement, the apse of the underground church having been carried over it at a considerably later period. It is now clear that this so-called oratory was the vestibule of the Mithræum, with a flight of steps leading down into it from a doorway at the end of the south aisle of the lower church. This doorway is of the time of the Emperor Hadrian, as shown by the construction of the arch over it, but it had been plastered over for painting upon in the eighth century, if not earlier, and all access to the Mithræum was then closed. Father Mullooly has recently (that is in March and April, 1871) sunk another pit in the garden of the monastery to the depth of 30 ft., and has found remains of some considerable building of the time of the Emperor Nero, probably a part of his enormous Golden House, carried upon a wall of large blocks of tufa, that had belonged to the wall of Servius Tullius, but seem to have been removed from the upper part of the wall and used as foundations only. This wall runs longitudinally along the valley, and not across it, as the wall of Servius Tullius must have done. Last year the good father had sunk another pit in another part of the garden, and there also had found part of a house of the first century, but *not* part of the wall of Servius Tullius. In the cellars of the monastery, also, there are brick arches of the first century, that appear to have been another part of the great house of Nero, or of the thermæ of the first century connected with it, which have also been traced under the gardens of the Capucins, on the cliff of the Esquiline, near to S. Clement's. A contribution was made to Father Mullooly from the Exploration Fund.

9. As related in my last lecture, at the end of 1870, the monks of S. Agnes, outside of the walls of Rome, have made considerable excavations in that part of the great catacomb which adjoins their church. The part first excavated was that nearest to the church as far as the *loculi* (or grave in the rock) that is enclosed by a slab with a mosaic inscription upon it. This part was particularly interesting because the graves were unopened, and covered by the original tiles or slabs across the openings, with places for the lamps, some

of which remained, and for the bottle of red fluid. This small portion had not been reached by Bosio, or disturbed in the sixteenth century; but immediately afterwards the name of BOSIO was found inscribed, and in all that part the tombs had been thoroughly rifled and all the inscriptions and other relics carried away, so that this portion presents the same desolate appearance as the catacombs in general, and is in a very bad state—dangerous in some places. One painted chamber was found, but not very early or of much importance. A donation was made to the monks to encourage and assist them.

10. The other excavations, with which the Society has not been connected, have been unusually numerous and important during the present season. The Italian Government has granted £12,000 sterling for excavating the whole of the Palatine Hill in the same manner as Pompeii, and has placed the direction of the work under Signor Rosa, who had formerly been employed by the Emperor of the French. Their plan is to have a Commission of Archæology, consisting of six persons, to consult with Signor Rosa, who is to be at the head of it, but not to act alone; four of these persons have been appointed, and all four have signified their disagreement with the mode of proceeding adopted by him. They protest especially against his system of *restoration*, which they justly say is *not* archæology; and they consider that he began in the wrong manner. One of the first things he did was to dig two rows of holes through the ancient marble pavement of the Basilica Julia, in the Forum Romanum, where he thought there *must have been* pillars of travertine, or buttresses to carry the roof. No traces of any such pillars were found; and when the English came to Rome in December, those pits were all full of water, and a piece of travertine was seen *to be placed* in one of them. He then set his men to work to remove the mountain of earth that had been piled up to the south of the Arch of Septimius Severus, in the Campo Vaccino, over the pavement of the Via Sacra, in the time of the first Napoleon, as it was then considered that nothing was hid by it. But Signor Rosa's plan is to clear away everything above the old pavements and show them all over the Palatine. In consequence of this mode of proceeding there has

been little to show *here* during the last few months, except the mosaic pavement of the temple, with the three fine tall columns at this angle of the Palatine, the name of which is so much disputed, but which appears to be of the time of Tiberius, and the pavement was that of the Cella. Some fragments of architectural details were also found there. Was it the Temple of Castor and Pollux, as is now said? On the southern side of the Basilica Julia the pavement of an old street, supposed to have been the Vicus Tuscus, has been brought to light again; it was uncovered by Visconti in 1868, but covered up again soon afterwards. Some vestiges of shops by the side of this street, against the base of the Basilica Julia, have also been found. If Signor Rosa had begun at the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, where the marble columns are half buried, there would have been something fresh to show day by day. In the upper part of the Palatine there has been more to show,—a very early temple, supposed to be that of Apollo, has been brought to light near the north-west corner, built of the large tufa blocks, in the style of the kings, and a grand flight of steps down from it of the same construction, leading towards the Church of S. Anastasia, and having apparently passed through that site to the Circus Maximus. Under this church is the old street called after Julius Cæsar, and there is a marble staircase going up in the same direction, probably a continuation of it. This is supposed by some to be the Scala Caci. But Signor Rosa had formerly put that name up in another place.

Towards the south end of the Palatine the great excavations that had been begun by Visconti have been to some extent carried on, the Exedra cleared out, and some remains of painting found. This is said to be of the time of Domitian; but a considerable part of the palaces at the south end of the Palatine are of the third century. The Exedra was of two stories. Some columns of Pavonazzetto marble were also found, and fragments of statues. This part is supposed to have been the Stadium, but more must be done before this can be established. In the middle of the Palatine some more parts of the Wall of Romulus have been shown on each side of his great fosse across the hill, which formed the southern side of his arx, or Roma Quadrata. Another part is visible at the west end; and that on

the north side, with the foundations of his towers, has long been known. But this is not consistent with Signor Rosa's views, and therefore nothing is said about them. Further excavations must show whether his views are correct or not, and it is expected that much will be done during the next half-year. A cave-reservoir of water at the north-west corner of the Palatine has been cleared out and *restored*, and props introduced to support the roof. There are channels to bring the water into this from other parts; it is popularly called the Cistern of Romulus,[2] and is behind the most perfect part of his wall. Other reservoirs have also been found, made out of old quarries, but these are at a much greater depth, and near the centre of the hill. At the north-east angle a considerable clearance has been made in part of the palace of the time of Caligula; some remains of fresco pictures were found, and a staircase leading to the Forum Romanum.

The arch called the Arch of Janus has been cleared of the earth round the base, which is now brought out, and the old pavement of the Forum Boarium uncovered. A considerable number of the large oblong blocks of tufa, of the character of the time of Romulus, corresponding with those on the Palatine above, have also been brought to light, and some of them seem to be in their original places in a wall, indicating that the primitive fortifications of the Palatine extended to this gate. This I had said before in one of my lectures was probable.

In rebuilding some of the edifices round the Forum of Trajan several portions of the old building have been found, and a fragment of a porphyry statue of an emperor, and a base dedicated to the Emperor Honorius, by *Rufius Antoninus* Agrippinus Volupianus, præfect of Rome in 424.

The new government works carried on by Signor Rosa are now being developed in other directions also. The great Thermæ of Caracalla are being cleared out of rubbish; some fresh mosaic pavement, fragments of the great vaults, portions of columns, capitals, and bases, and other details, have already been uncovered.

Since the English left Rome, I hear, from a Roman friend, that Signor Rosa has been pushing on the excavations in these

[2] There is a similar reservoir, with similar wells, at Alba Longa, under the corner of the Arx there, miscalled a prison.

great *thermæ* vigorously; and to remove some obstruction (the nature of which I do not quite understand), he has employed gunpowder, which has shaken one of the main walls of the building considerably. There is quite an outcry against his mode of proceeding, and the Roman people now say that half the money spent by Rosa for the Emperor of the French was wasted, much being spent in *restoration* to make a display. Archæologists do not want *restoration* at all; they want only excavation and preservation. I am sorry to say anything against Signor Rosa, for he is always very obliging to English people, and has been so to me personally; but it is well known in Rome that when he was appointed by the Emperor, he knew nothing at all about archæology; and although he has worked hard, and has acquired a good deal of information, his mode of proceeding is not satisfactory. The large labels that he had put up on the Palatine have several times changed their places, and cannot be depended on.

The arch of the time of Septimius Severus, built by the silversmiths in this quarter, at the entrance to the Forum Boarium, has been *restored;* and a part of the brick pier of the Campanile of the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, which concealed a part of the cornice, has been removed; the rest of the surface has been scraped to make it all look new alike. A fine piece of the ancient sculpture was here brought to light, representing Bacchus in a feminine attitude, called "Bacchus Hermaphroditus," with the cornucopiæ in his left hand; the figure is enveloped in the rich upper garment called a peplum. Bacchus and Hercules were the two guardians of the family of Severus, and both are represented on this arch.

11. On the eastern side of Rome, the large vineyard and garden near the Porta Maggiore, the modern name of which is the Vigna Belardi, has been purchased by a building company for the purpose of building new houses; but previously they are excavating the ground thoroughly in search of marble statues, and to see what old foundations there are that can be made available for building upon. This ground will be best known to the English visitors by the fine building called the Temple of Minerva Medica that stands in it. These extensive works have brought to light a number of old tombs with columbaria, and inscriptions on old tomb-

stones, none of much importance, but belonging to rather an early period, chiefly to the time of the Republic. The ground is also full of aqueducts and reservoirs, and piscinæ at a higher level than the tombs. This ground is believed to have been at one period a public burial-place, called the Exquiliæ, or Esquiliæ, and afterwards the garden of Mecenas; but the aqueducts are chiefly of a later period. The Minerva Medica itself is of the third century, and is believed to have been a Nymphæum belonging to some great thermæ of that period. The arcade of the Aqua Marcia, however, runs across one corner of this ground, from the arch that is visible just inside the Wall of Aurelian, close to the Porta Maggiore, passing within a few yards of that arch into the higher ground just beyond. The railway cuts through this small hill and the aqueduct. Part of the stone arcade of the Marcia is visible in the first pit to the right from the gate; the tombs are to the left.

The property of the company extends beyond the old road or fosse-way called the Via di Porta Maggiore, and as far as the road made by Sixtus the Fifth, from S. Maria Maggiore to S. Croce. In this part also a large pit has been dug, and a curious ancient structure brought to light, of the time of the Early Empire, a circular chamber, very deep, surrounded by a square building of considerably larger size. This building touches the road of Sixtus V., and the wall of it, which projects into the road, has long been visible, but supposed to be a tomb only. It is now supposed that very extensive thermæ were built in this part of Rome in the third century, to which the Nymphæum of Alexander Severus, where the trophies of Marius were placed, was at the entrance, and to which the "Minerva Medica" also belonged.

In digging the foundations of the new Palace of the Senate on Monte Citorio, a fragment of a hypocaust was found, supposed to have belonged to the Thermæ of Alexander Severus, and a pavement of *rigio* marble. In the garden of the convent of the Chiesa Nuova a remarkably fine head of an ancient Roman statue has been found.

Some excavations have been made in April, 1871, in the garden of Prince Doria, at the place called "Porta Leoni," on the opposite bank of the Tiber to the Pulchrum Littus.

and near S. Maria in Capella in the Trastevere, at the upper end of the port of Rome, in the Tiber, made in the time of the Republic, B. C. 180 (Livii Hist. xl. 51). The foundation walls of a *horrea*, or large warehouse, probably of the third century, have been found. On the surface of the vault was a pavement of marble of various colours, but not of early character; another wall faced with brick, and one with *silex*. At the foot of this building in the bank of the Tiber are the large stone corbels carved into lions' heads of Etruscan character, discovered in 1869. These have now been almost entirely buried under the earth thrown on the bank from these excavations in the garden above; one only is left visible. It is very desirable that this earth should be removed again, and that the quay below the corbels should be cleared of the hard mud and sand under which it is now buried.

Original Documents.

INVENTORY OF GOODS BELONGING TO A WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, A.D. 1396.

Communicated by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq.

By the kind favour of Dr. Sewell, Warden of New College, Oxford, I am enabled to send you a transcript of an inventory of goods and chattels, delivered to the College Bursars by Thomas de Cranleghe, third Warden of the College, upon his resignation in 1396, as being then in his possession by virtue of that office.

Memorandum quod anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi decimo-nono, vicesimo die mensis Martii, Magister Thomas Cranleghe, nuper Custos Collegii Sanctæ Mariæ de Wyntonia, in Oxonia, liberavit Magistro Waltero Honyngtone, Vice-Custodi ejusdem Collegii, et Roberto Thirbarn ac sociis, Bursariis præfati Collegii, infrascripta :—videlicet, i par tuellorum[1] cum frontali, blodii coloris, de secta ferialium vestimentorum Magnæ Capellæ, i casulam, i albam cum amita, i phanonem[2] et i failam,[3] unius sectæ ; item, i pannum de serico, ornatum cum panno aureo in extremis, pro circummaltaro [*sic*], i corporale cum casula, de secta vestimenti prædicti, i manutergium et i pulerum Missale, coopertum cum nigro serico ; item, i parvum calicem deauratum cum patena, signata Agno Dei, et i cooper-torium pro eodem calice ; item, i Agnus [*sic*] Dei de cupro, deauratus, in secta aliorum in Magna Capella, et ii phialas[4] novas de stanno, et i superaltare et i tintinabulum de ære, i candelabrum magnum, de secta novorum candelabrorum capellæ : item, pro aula custodienda, iii pelves et iii lavacra, unde ii pelves et ii lavacra sunt de novo stauro : item, pro mensa ejusdem, i mensale panni de Nañt, continens v ulnas ; item, i tuellum[5] de eodem panno, continens x ulnas large ; item, ii mensalia antiqua de panno Flandrensi, quorum i continet iiii ulnas cum dimidio longitudine, et alterum iii ulnas cum dimidio ; item, iii mensalia nova panni de Garnesaye, quorum i continet vi ulnas, et duo alia x ulnas ; item, i mensale novum pro mensa famulorum, continens vi ulnas large ; item, i aliud pro eadem mensa, continens vi ulnas præter i quarterium ; item, aliud de eadem mensa, antiquum, continens iii ulnas et dimidium ; item, ii pannos pro cupborde, quorum i est novus, continentes utrumque [*sic*] i ulnam large. Item, manutergia de panno de Wiltone, ejusdem sectæ, quorum utrumque continet v ulnas large ; item, aliud tuellum[5] de

[1] *Tuellum* : an altar-cloth.

[2] *Phano* : a fanon, or maniple.

[3] *Faila* : a fall, or veil.

[4] *Phialæ* : cruets ; vessels which contained the water and wine for the service of the altar. Prompt. Parv. *sub voce* Cruett (note).

[5] *Tuellum* : perhaps here the same as *manutergium* : a towel, or hand napkin.

panno de Garnesey, continens v ulnas et dimidium large; item, i aliud tuellum[6] antiquum, de panno Flandrensi, continens vi ulnas et dimidium large; item, iv tuella[6] de panno Wiltesiræ, quorum quodlibet continet ii ulnas et i quarterium; item, ii sanapes[7] nova, quorum quodlibet continet iiii ulnas; item, iii antiqua sanapes, quorum quodlibet continet iiii ulnas; item, vii napkyns ejusdem sectæ, et vi napkyns de diversa sorte; item, i antiquum tuellum[6] ad purganda vasa, longitudine iv ulnarum; item, iii salaria de stanno, de secta aliorum de magna aula; item, i duodenam cocliarium de secta communitatis; item, vii candalabra [*sic*] de auricalco, unde ii cum ii nasis, de secta communis stauri. Item, pro botellaria, iiii ollas de corio, unde ii galoners et ii potellers; item, iiii ollas de stanno pro vino, de secta communitatis; item, i cultellum pro pane parando; item, iii pecias de argento, quarum major ponderat x uncias, præter ii denarios obolum; media ix uncias et dimidium; tertia ponderat viii uncias et dimidium; item, i armariolum[8] coopertum cum canabo. Item, pro coquina, ii chariours [? charjours, chargers]; item, ii duodenas parapsidum,[9] ii duodenas discorum, et ii duodenas salsariorum de stanno, de minori secta vasorum communitatis; item, iii ollas æreas, quarum major continet v lagenas cum dimidio, media iii lagenas cum dimidio, tertia ii lagenas cum dimidio; item, ii posnettes,[1] quorum major continet i lagenam cum i quarte et i pynte, minor continet i lagenam; item, magnam patellam, de novo stauro; item, patellam pro frixatione,[2] de antiquo stauro, et ii parvas patellas novas, quarum major ponderat v libras cum dimidio, et minor iii libras cum dimidio; et i chawfere,[3] ponderis ix librarum, et i tripodem, ponderis xv librarum; item, i magnum cultellum ad dirigendum carnes[4] in coquina; item, i securim et ii hokes pro ollis portandis, ponderantes viii libras; item, i magnum morterrielum lapideum, et i magnam amphoram bene ligatam cum vi circulis ferreis, i cupam pro aqua, et i tubbe pro carnibus salsandis, et ii longos cados pro sale et farina, et v scaphas pro coquina, unde ii magnæ, et iii parvæ; item, v verua[5] ferrea, quorum i ponderat xxxviii libras, aliud ponderat xxix libras et dimidium et quarterium, tertium ponderat xix libras et dimidium et quarterium, et ii alia ponderant v libras et dimidium quarterii; item, xii ["cenellos" apparently, but almost effaced] ferri; item, i cratem ferream; item, ii novas patellas magnas; item, i skymour et i ladul, de latone; item, i antiquum skymour. Item, pro Capella, i par tuellorum cum frontali de serico, rubii et blodii coloris, i casulam, i albam, i amitam, i stolam, et i phanonem,[6] ejusdem coloris, et ii cinctoria pro vestimentis, et i corporale de panno deaurato. Item, in stabulo, v equos, non læsos nec claudos, sed in bono statu, quorum i pro sella Custodis, pretii olim viii marcarum, et secundus pro sella ejusdem, pretii viii marcarum olim; item, tertius pro summario, pretii olim xxxs et iiiid; item, quartus equus, pretii olim xxviiis; item, quintus

[6] See note [5], previous page.

[7] *Sanapes:* napkins. Prompt. Parv. *sub voce* Sanop (note).

[8] *Armariolum:* a box, cupboard, safe, pantry.

[9] *Parapsis:* a platter. Prompt. Parv. *s. v.* Platere.

[1] *Posnette:* a little pot; Halliwell. A small iron pot with a handle on the side (Grose—quoted in Prompt. Parv. *s. v.* Posnet, note).

[2] *Patella pro frixatione:* a frying-pan.

[3] *Chawfere:* perhaps the same as chafere, a saucepan. Hall.

[4] *Cultellum ad dirigendum carnes:* a dressing-knife. Thus in Prompt. Parv. dressyñ *dirigo*; a dressynge boorde, *directorium*.

[5] *Verua:* spits.

[6] See note [5], previous page.

equus, pretii olim xxxs. Item, i novam sellam pro Custode; item, i antiquam sellam pro eodem, cum harnesio deaurato; item, ii novas sellas cum frenis, pro famulis dicti Custodis; item, i antiquam sellam pro eisdem, cum freno ejusdem; item, i sellam cum toto opparatu [apparatu], videlicet, cloth-sak, barehuyde,[7] warrok,[8] et freno pro summario; item, iiii colaria pro equis prædictis; item, unam sellam pro mantica, cum freno; item, iiii schakelus pro equis, de corio, cum plusculis de ferro. Item,[9] Statuta Domini, de novo reformata, et ligata cum corio rubio, in una capcella lignea. Item, i lavacrum æreum, pendens retro exterum ostium aulæ versus occidentem; item, i amisiam de gr [? grisio]. Item, bu appropriationis ecclesiæ de Swalclyve, secunda linea [2 words not decipherable] "Anglia." Item, licentiam Episcopi Lincolniensis de appropriatione ejusdem ecclesiæ, secunda linea "Wynton." Item, appropriationem ecclesiæ de Abberbury, secunda linea "Thomas." Item, bullam indempnitatibus pro ecclesiis de Abburbury et Swalcleve, secunda linea "Pietatis." Item, bullam Domini Papæ de ecclesiis tradendis ad firmam sine licentia diocisanorum, secunda linea "Willelmus." Item, cartam concer manerium de Wedone, secunda linea "Me." Item, cartam concernentem idem manerium, secunda linea "Unum." Item, quoddam munimentum Humfredi de Bohun, de Wretle, secunda linea "Et Esexe." Item, cartam Roberti de R concernentem Ecclesiæ de Wretle, secunda linea "In Domino." Item, cartam Domini Roberti de Bruys de Spatulis venationum de parcis, secunda linea "Lutean" [?]. Item, scriptum Thomæ de Molendino de quodam apud Wyke, secunda linea "Me." Item, cirografum de terris apud Hedenenhes, secunda linea "Generalis." Item, in coquina, i gratour, i fleschhoke, Item, in una pixide octo munimenta de tenemento et gardino impetratis de Præposito et Sociis de Quenehalle. Item, unam indenturam inter Comitissam de Hereforde et Collegium pro molendino de Wrytelle in Essex, secunda linea Item, i munimentum, videlicet, cartam Regis pro tenendo Trelylyan, secunda linea "Speciali."

Memorandum, quod de tuellis[1] superius nominatis pro altari cooperiendo, deficiunt ii. Item, deficit i pakke de panno serici, cum ymaginibus Crucifixi, Mariæ, et panni prædicti, quod traditum est Magistro Johanni Wykeham per manus Johannis Skyllyngton.[2]

[7] *Bare-huyde:* perhaps a covering for the upper part of the saddle of the sumpter horse.

[8] *Warrok:* a girth (*warroken:* to girt. Hall).

[9] This copy of the Statutes is still in the possession of the Warden of the College.

[1] See note [1], page 232.

[2] Endorsed, in a hand of the seventeenth century—"Inventarium eorum quæ Thomas Cranlegh liberavit Bursariis, quo tempore resignavit officium Custodis."



Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1870.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance at the Bank, 31st December, 1869	88	14	5
,, ,, in the House	62	14	3
,, Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance for 1871	486	3	0
,, Entrance Fees	36	15	0
,, Life Compositions	42	0	0
,, Sale of Publications, &c.	31	1	8
,, Miscellaneous:			
Subscriptions to Notices, Donations to Removal Fund	7	11	6
,, Balance of receipts, Leicester Meeting	88	13	11
,, Interest on Investments	6	9	7
,, Investment Account	209	5	0
	£1059	8	4

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publication Account:						
To Bradbury & Evans (printing Journal)	290	0	6			
,, Engravers, &c.	80	11	6			
				370	12	0
,, House Expenses Account:						
Rent of Apartments	155	0	0			
Secretary's Salary	100	0	0			
Office Stationery and Printing	15	6	0			
Coals, Gas, Clock, &c.	9	1	6			
Paid on Account of the Bury Meeting	3	12	1			
				282	19	7
,, Library Account:						
Paid to Binders	19	16	0			
Purchase of Books	3	0	0			
				22	16	0
,, Petty Cash Account:						
Messengers and Attendance, &c.	42	5	0			
Postage, and delivery of Journal, &c.	34	9	7			
Cleaning, repairs, and sundries	6	17	5			
Carpenter, gas repairs, &c.	3	3	6			
Carriage of parcels, booking, &c.	1	18	10			
Cabs, omnibus and porterage	1	6	6			
				90	0	10
,, Removal Expenses:						
Paid Nixon, builder				15	10	2
,, Investment Account:						
£220 Consols, valued at				209	5	0
,, Balances. In the Bank, 31st Dec. 1870	30	13	1			
Cash in Hand	28	1	6			
Petty cash	9	10	2			
				67	15	9
				£1059	8	4

Audited and found correct, { JOHN MACLEAN, J. FULLER RUSSELL, } *Auditors.*

Submitted to the General Annual Meeting in London, on the 19th of July, 1871, unanimously approved and passed.

(*Signed*) OCTAVIUS MORGAN, *Chairman.*

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute.

April 14, 1871.

The Very Rev. Canon Rock, D.D., in the chair.

The Rev. W. S. Symonds, of Pendock, Worcestershire, communicated a notice of a stone found about 4 ft. below the surface at Gadbury Camp, Eldersfield, Worcestershire. It represented the head of a man rudely carved, and doubts were expressed as to its being of any antiquity. By some it was, however, thought to have the style of a very early period. This relic had been made known to the Institute through Mr. Symonds, by Lord Talbot de Malahide, the President. It was found in ferreting rabbits by T. Pensam, tenant on the estate of Sir Edmund H. Lechmere, Bart., near Eldersfield. It was also exhibited by Mr. Symonds at the Annual Meeting of the Cotswold Club at Malvern, but no distinct opinion could be obtained in regard of its age or signification. It is now in possession of Sir Edmund Lechmere. It is of cylindrical form, measuring about 4 in. in height, and 2¼ in. in diameter.

Gadbury, as Mr. Symonds stated, has been regarded as a British Camp, afterwards occupied by the Romans, as indicated by the repeated discoveries of Roman coins there. The site is on a round elevation in a valley, about two miles from Mr. Symonds' residence at Pendock, to the west of Tewkesbury. The area of the entrenched work is about four acres. At a short distance to the east runs an ancient dyke, known as the Portway: its course is nearly north and south, from Pendock to the old Ferry at the Haw Bridge. The Camp, and also the Portway, have been noticed by the late Mr. Jabez Allies, in his Antiquities of Worcestershire (see pp. 69, 219, 277). The rude carving found by Mr. Pensam presents no feature that would suggest its date; it has no resemblance to Roman work, and may probably be mediæval.

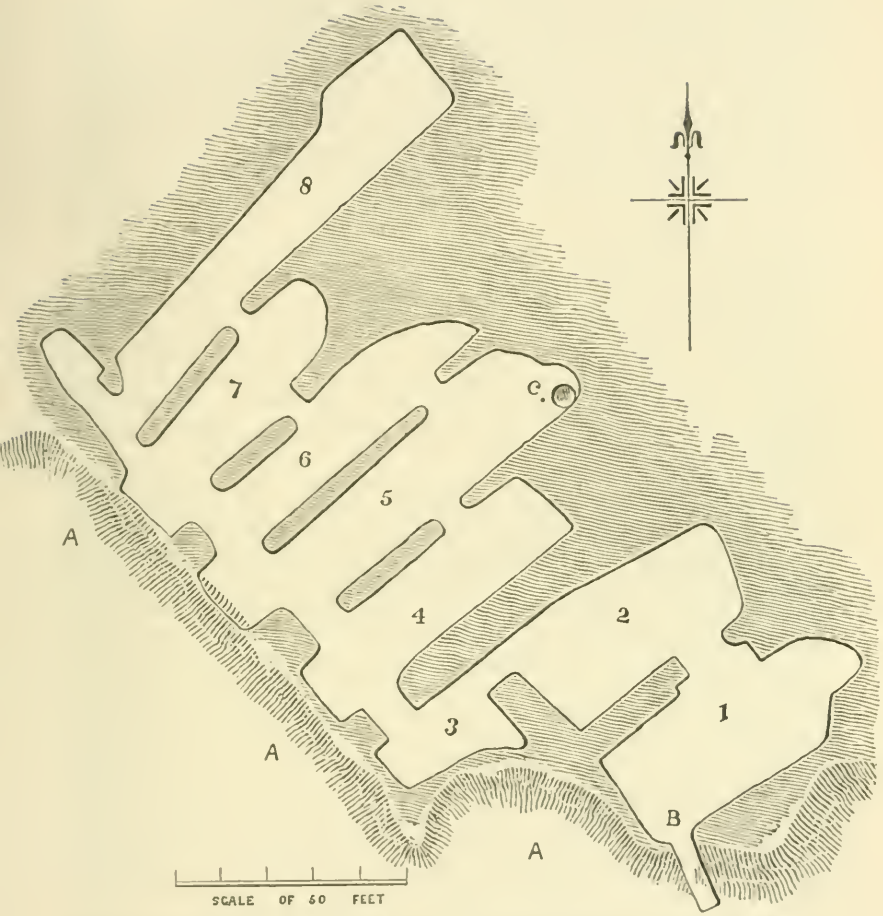
Capt. E. Renouard James, R.E., gave an account of the extensive caverns existing at Guildford within the chalk heights, on the highest part of which the Norman castle stands, within a deep moat. In the endeavour to collect information in regard to this very remarkable series of chambers oral tradition proved so vague as to afford no reliable information, the popular tale being only that they were places of torture. The earliest description of these caverns is to be found in Grose's "Antiquities," published in 1773, where an incorrect plan is given, made in 1763 by a Mr. Bunce, a stonemason, and also a view of the entrance at that time existing at the base of the steep chalk cliff towards Quarry Street. This plan has been copied, on a reduced scale, in Brayley's "History of Surrey," vol. i., p. 329.

The earliest specific mention of these chambers is in Russell's "History of Guildford," which states that when the Prince of Orange came to England in 1688, many women and children hid themselves in these caverns to escape an expected massacre of the Protestants by the Irish invaders. Brompton, the historian, and other old writers state that in the eleventh century the town was the scene of the torture and massacre of Alfred, son of King Ethelred, and about 600 Norman followers. This is supposed to have taken place in the caverns. The enclosure in which the entrance to the caverns is found has an ancient name—"Rack Close." Probably, however, the caverns were more ancient than the castle, with which in later days they certainly had no communication. Their northern extremity is 100 yards from the keep, and the chalk 65 ft. thick at that part of the roof of the chamber nearest the castle.

The caverns are a series of wide, straight galleries, nearly at right angles to the face of the chalk cliff, driven independently from west to east. The dip of the strata has been followed, the galleries inclining downwards. In Grose's "Antiquities" the place is called "Quarry Hole," and the idea of their being connected with the castle is ridiculed. The shape, direction, and inclination of the galleries all tend to show that they were originally quarries, and that facility of excavation was the first, if not the only consideration, in their design. The relation between the level of the floor of the caverns and the ground at the foot of the chalk cliff, on their western side, is such as to prove the facility of getting out the blocks of loosened chalk. The reason for burrowing far into the hill instead of quarrying from the surface, was perhaps to make sure of getting the harder and more compact material. Such material may be seen imbedded in the lower walls of the castle keep, in St. Mary's church, Guildford, and at Compton church, and even so far as Alfold, on the borders of Sussex.

It is obvious that in so populous a district as Surrey large quantities of hard chalk might be required for building material, or even conveyed by the river Wey to more distant parts. The traces of some important and extensive industry, as indicated by these spacious caverns, have suggested the conjecture that they may have been worked in very ancient times. Recent researches by Canon Greenwell and other archæologists have demonstrated that certain excavations were made in the chalk doubtless in pre-Roman times, as at "Grimes Graves," near Thetford, for the purpose of obtaining flints of the hardest quality to serve in the formation of weapons or implements, before the general use of metals. It is very probable that such flints may even have been exported from Britain to foreign lands. These cavities, however, were worked by means of small shafts very ingeniously contrived, and serving to give access to the strata beneath the surface; from the bottom of these shafts galleries and chambers radiated. In this manner, likewise, the numerous so-called "Dane holes" in Kent and Essex were worked for some purpose not yet distinctly ascertained.[1] It is true that the mode of operation was entirely different from that employed in the Guildford caverns, but the intention may have been the same. In the latter the occurrence of a natural exposed vertical surface allowed horizontal galleries to be run with ease. It is well known that in Roman times

[1] Arch. Journ., vol. xxvi. pp. 190, 294.



Plan of the Guildford Caverns. From the Ordnance Survey of the Town, 1868.

A, A, A.—Vertical face or steep chalk cliff towards Quarry Street, and about 150 yards from the Castle Keep.

B.—Entrance passage recently formed.

C.—Deep well, now closed, sunk from the grounds of South Hill House.

Dimensions of the Chambers.

No. 1.—57 feet by 28.
No. 2.—54 feet by 23.
No. 3.—33 feet by 17.
No. 4.—75 feet by 17.
No. 5.— 95 feet by 20.
No. 6.— 74 feet by 15.
No. 7.— 60 feet by 15.
No. 8.—105 feet by 15

chalk of various qualities was used for certain mechanical purposes, and that a special fine kind of white *creta* used by silversmiths, and termed, as we learn from Pliny, *creta argentaria*, was obtained from Britain. The material was obtained by means of shafts like wells, sunk to a considerable depth, and then branching out like the veins of mines. Pliny observes of the *creta argentaria*,—"Hac maxime Britannia utitur" (Nat. Hist., lib. xvii. c. 8). Some of these pits, therefore, are of date anterior to the time of Pliny. Mr. Roach Smith, moreover, in his "Collectanea," cites an interesting inscription found in Zealand, recording that a successful dealer in British chalk, having prosperously imported his freights into that country, discharged his vows to the goddess Nehalennia (Coll. Ant., vol. vi. p. 247). Some of the extensive cavities at Guildford may doubtless have served for the supply of the *creta argentaria*, but in the absence of any ancient or Roman vestige at that town the conjecture is barely admissible that the Britons, for purposes that we know not, or Romans in their search for a material suitable for their artificers, may have been the first excavators of the caverns. They were doubtless quarries in mediæval times, and may have been used as dungeons by the Norman kings. It appears, moreover, that Henry III. kept a large stock of wines at Guildford, the produce of his French estates. Is it possible that he used the ready-made wine-vaults under the hill to deposit his stores?

The making of the new large-scale Ordnance Survey Map of the town has caused the recent investigation. The officer in charge in 1868, whose attention had been attracted by the notice given by Grose, directed Corporal Robert Macdonald to make inquiry, and, after making trials patiently for five weeks, he succeeded in making good an entrance into the large southern chamber. A subscription in the town enabled him to pursue the search and trace out the outline of the caverns. The owners of the soil above, however, interfered, and the excavation was stopped until their claims had been brought forward. It is hoped that these curious remains may ere long be thrown open under the auspices of the Corporation. The chambers are filled with loose rubbish, through which a narrow passage has been cleared through the circuit of the eight chambers. The height from floor to roof varies from 5 to 7 ft.; both floor and roof follow the natural divisions between successive strata, and are inclined downwards towards the north-east. It were much to be desired that by the aid of a fund from exhibition of the caverns the chalk rubbish should be cleared out, and sifted carefully, so as to reveal some evidence regarding their antiquity and history.

The accompanying plan of the chambers has been supplied by Capt. James, from the Ordnance Survey. A more full account, with a detailed ichnography showing their position as regards the adjacent buildings, will be found in his "Notes and Speculations on the Guildford Caverns" (Guildford, Asher and Walbrook, 1871).

In the discussion which followed the reading of this very interesting communication Sir E. Smirke, Mr. Tregellas, Mr. Waller, and Dr. Rock referred to the numerous existing examples of excavations in the chalk, chiefly in connection with some ecclesiastical or military structure, or where the face of a hill was quarried for stone. Mr. Spurrell suggested that no probable explanation could be given of the date of the caverns till the *débris* had been cleared out and examined, and hazarded a

speculation as to their pre-historic origin. Reference having been made to the use of such excavations as granaries, Mr. Spurrell did not suppose such had been the use of the "Dane Holes" in Essex. Mr. Burtt much doubted if people who used only tools and implements of stone would have the foresight or skill to construct granaries. In the case of Egypt, which had been quoted, the people were very far advanced in art and science, and they made provision against famine only at the instigation of a ruler who had mysterious knowledge of the future.

The general opinion seemed to be that the caverns were early mediæval quarries. The notion that they were designed as torture-chambers or cellars in connection with the castle was strongly opposed, while the possibility of their existence anterior to the Norman Conquest was admitted.

Mr. J. G. Waller gave an account of the discovery during the last summer of a fine mural painting in Chaldon church, Surrey, of which he exhibited a fac-simile drawing. The subject is "The Ladder of the Salvation of the Soul," and has never before been found in England, nor indeed has any record been preserved of such discovery in France. The date of the work is the later part of the twelfth century. It was found on the western wall of the church, and consists of two divisions, separated by an ornamental band of the heraldic convention termed "nebuly." In the centre is a ladder reaching up to heaven, represented by the demi figure of Christ holding a cross, his right hand in the act of benediction, within a waved aureole. Upon this ladder are a number of figures ascending or attempting to ascend. Some tumble down headlong, others are struggling, whilst others ascend in safety. In the lower division, at one corner is the "Tree of Life," indicating the fall of man, and the rest of this division is devoted to divers punishments. There is the "Usurer" sitting amid flames, with money-bags about him, coins dropping from his mouth, and tormented by two demons; groups of figures, with tempting demons by them, representing illicit affections; the punishment of the "bridge of spikes," accorded to those who had stolen during their lives; parricides and fratricides in a fiery cauldron; a pilgrim, who had sold his coat for wine; a dog biting the hand of a lady for having given food to dogs that she ought to have given to the poor; a group of dancers having their feet gnawed at, and demons endeavouring to alarm those attempting to ascend the ladder. The upper portion is devoted to the scheme of salvation. There is the descent into hell and the release of the spirits, as given in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. The good thief is being carried to heaven by an angel; the three Maries are also introduced; finally, St. Michael is weighing souls. The picture is throughout treated with a great deal of simplicity, and is fortunately well preserved. The painting is 17 ft. 2 in. long., by 11 ft. 2 in. in height. A coloured representation of the whole has been given by Mr. Waller in "Surrey Archæological Collections," vol. v.

Captain James referred to the fact that the "Pilgrim's way" passes near Chaldon as probably accounting for the special character of the painting.

The Chairman remarked upon the general use of such church decoration in the twelfth century, and the appeal thereby made to the important sense of sight. Probably the weighing of the soul was a tradition very generally accepted, and artistically treated with variations according to

the feeling or skill of the painter. Mr. Waller's book on Sepulchral Brasses was the best work on the subject; he was able to give as good a book upon mural paintings, and he hoped he would do so. Warm thanks were due to Mr. Shepherd, rector of Chaldon, for his preservation of this most remarkable painting. The church of Chaldon was one of great interest. In the churchyard were some famous yew-trees which had been measured by Evelyn, and were probably 1500 years old—perhaps planted by Druids on sacred ground. The best thanks of the meeting were due to Mr. Waller for his beautiful drawing, and his very able and interesting discourse, and to Mr. Shepherd for the attention and care he had bestowed upon this remarkable specimen of early Christian art.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. W. S. Symonds, Rector of Pendock, near Tewkesbury.—A piece of carved stone of coarse grit, representing the head of a man having a sort of low cylindrical cap, and of rude workmanship. It had been lately found in Gadbury Camp, Worcestershire, about four feet below the surface, when digging for a lost ferret.

By Captain James, R.E.—Ground-plan of the site of the castle and caverns at Guildford, Surrey, and an enlarged plan of the caverns themselves.

By Mr. J. G. Waller.—Fac-simile drawing of the mural painting in Chaldon church, Surrey, described above.

By the Rev. J. Holland Ash, D.C.L., through the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A.—One of the silver medals which were struck in commemoration of the acquittal of the seven Bishops in 1688. A similar example is figured and described in "Histoire Métallique des xvii. Provinces des Pays-bas, depuis l'abdication de Charles Quint, jusqu'à la Paix en mdccxii. Traduite du Hollandois de Monsieur Gerard Van Loon," vol. iii. p. 339, col. 1732. The obverse of the medal contains the bust of Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the reverse, the busts of the Bishops of London (Compton), St. Asaph (Lloyd), Ely (Turner), Chichester (Lake), Bath and Wells (Ken), Peterborough (White), and Bristol (Trelawny), in circular borders in which their names are inscribed, and which are separated by twelve stars. A wood engraving of the medal will be found in "The Student's Hume," p. 519, 8vo, 1865.

By Mr. M. Shurlock, of Chertsey.—A celt of opaque white flint lately found by Miss Blackett, of Thorpe Lee, in a meadow adjoining Forster House, Surrey, about two miles from Egham (Bibracte ?), and close to the line of Roman road that, crossing the Thames at Staines, led through the territory of the Atrebatii towards Silchester and the south-western parts of Britain. The celt is of ordinary type (compare one in British Museum of similar size and material, "Horæ Ferales," pl. ii. fig. 10) well polished; the edge of the blade slightly diagonal; length 7 in., greatest breadth 2½ in. It lay in soil cleared out of a ditch. This Roman way has been described in the United Service Journal, 1836, part i. p. 39. Few vestiges of earlier date have been noticed in this part of Surrey; the hill-fortress known as Elderbury, on St. Ann's Hill near Chertsey, is a remarkable entrenched work of the British period; a bronze celt of familiar fashion was found not long since in the stump of an aged tree on the flank of that elevated stronghold; it is now in possession of the Rev. H. L. Bennett, vicar of Thorpe.

May 5, 1871.

Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P. and V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. R. Holmes, F.S.A., exhibited, by permission of the Prize Committee of the troops engaged in the Abyssinian Expedition, the crown of the Abuna of Abyssinia, and a golden chalice, both of them secured by him at the capture of Magdala. These objects are both of pure gold, of which there is but little in the country, and they are the most valuable portion of the booty taken on the above occasion. The crown is cylindrical, dome-shaped at the top. It is surrounded with three bands of open work, chased with heads of saints and foliage. On the top are four medallions, with the heads of the Evangelists. The top was originally surmounted by a ball and cross, which have been abstracted. The date of the workmanship is probably of the last century. The chalice, which is semicircular, is supported by a heavy foot and stem ornamented with bands of chased foliage, seemingly copied from European work of the sixteenth century. Under the rim is an inscription, to the effect that it was presented to one of the great churches of Gondar by the King Adam Seged, who lived in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. J. Winter Jones, F.S.A., gave a discourse on the collection of early-printed books on view in the rooms. This excellent contribution to the literature of this interesting subject has been already given in this volume (pp. 1—22). The Chairman expressed the very hearty thanks of the meeting for the very able and lucid discourse with which they had been favoured, and many remarks upon the collection exhibited, and upon the subject generally, were added by Sir William Tite, C.B., the Very Rev. Canon Rock, and others.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Prize Committee of the Army, through R. R. Holmes, Esq. —The crown of the Abuna of Abyssinia, and the chalice presented by King Adam Seged to the church of Gondar.

By her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, Sir William Tite, C.B., and others.—A collection of early-printed books, about 280 in number. A detailed account of this most valuable and interesting exhibition will be given in the forthcoming portion of the Journal.

June 2, 1871.

Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P. and V.P., in the Chair.

The Ven. Archdeacon Trollope sent a photograph and the following notes on a sculptured fragment of a Roman tomb lately found at Lincoln :—

"An interesting addition has lately been made to the series of Roman sepulchral memorials found at Lincoln, and published a few years since in the Archæological Journal.[1] The number of sculptured and inscribed monuments brought to light at Lindum is remarkable. The recent discovery occurred on the site of the new church of St. Swithin, on the west of the lower Roman town. The sculpture, of which a small photograph is sent for examination, consists of the upper portion of a tablet of Lincoln oolite, measuring 2 ft. by 7, and representing a young man

[1] Arch. Journ. vol. xvii. pp. 4 and 20.

with crisp curling hair, and clothed in a tunic and mantle. In the hands, which are clasped in front, he holds a hare, represented as alive. The figure seems to have been placed in a kind of niche, formed with a pediment at top, and supported at the sides by scaled columns, of which one only remains. The features of the head possess much individuality of expression; it is probable that the sculptor endeavoured to produce a portrait, as far as he was able. Of the lower part of the memorial, and of the inscription that it doubtless bore, no trace has been found. Some other fragments, probably of the base, and worked in simple mouldings, were disinterred; also a few fragments of bone, and a small brass coin of Constantius II., struck at Treves. The occurrence of a hare thus introduced is very remarkable. It may have had reference to the name of the deceased, such as Lepus or the like, as also Nabeia or Navira was commemorated with a ship upon her tomb, Dracontius by a dragon, Leo by a lion, Onager by an ass, and Porcella by a pig. In the catacombs at Rome a sepulchral figure of a young Roman lady at Bordeaux, figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his Collectanea Antiqua, appears grasping a living cat. It has been imagined, however, that a hare, or possibly a rabbit, may have had some other signification. It occurs on the pediment of a tablet found at Housesteads, a station on the Roman Wall, to the memory of Anicius Ingenuus, *medicus*, the medical officer, possibly, of the first cohort of Tungrians. The rabbit was a symbol of the Spaniards, and the person, in either case, may have been a native of that country. In the mosaic floor at Chedworth, Gloucestershire, a figure appears holding a hare or rabbit that hangs from his right hand, and a stag's horn in his left. This figure appears to represent Winter charged with spoils of the chase. There were, moreover, certain notions of popular superstition associated with the hare, and auguries were sought from its movements. The motive of its introduction in the curious figure found at Lincoln is a subject of some interest, whether it may be regarded as associated with any mysterious significance, or have been merely an accessory of capricious nature, of very uncommon occurrence in Roman sepulchral memorials."

The Chairman exhibited a small oval plaque of enamel, date 1671, representing a battle on the Ponte St. Angelo, at Rome.

Mr. S. R. Holliday read a memoir on the discovery of Decorative Pavement Tiles, on the site of Hales Owen Abbey, Worcestershire, of special interest on account of their artistic character, and also because many of them appear to be identical in design with the beautiful tiles brought to light at Chertsey Abbey, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Shurlock, of Chertsey. We are indebted to Mr. Holliday for the following abstract of his interesting communication, which was illustrated by numerous drawings of the subjects on the tiles, and specimens of the tiles themselves:—

"The tiles from which my drawings were made were found on the site of Hales Owen Abbey, in the county of Worcester, and, interesting as they are in themselves by reason of the beauty and excellence of their design, they derive an additional claim to notice from the fact that many of them were made from the same moulds or stamps as some of the tiles found several years since on the site of Chertsey Abbey in Surrey, and that an inscription occurring on others enables us to fix with tolerably close approximation the date of their manufacture.

"The Chertsey tiles were in 1855 twice brought under the notice of the Institute,[2] and they have since been described, and illustrations of several of them given, by Mr. Henry Shaw in his work on Encaustic Tile Pavements. At the date of that publication, however, the subjects represented in the most interesting designs of the series had not been identified, although it was surmised that they were taken from some of the romances popular in the thirteenth century. It has since been ascertained beyond all doubt that the greater number of the designs referred to are illustrations of the romance of Tristram, and the life of Richard Cœur de Lion. Twenty-seven subjects from the former, and eight from the latter, have been identified. These are on circular tiles about nine inches and a half in diameter. In addition to them, and several other designs of the same character and size, the subjects of which are not known, there are smaller tiles with the signs of the Zodiac, and illustrations of the months, besides a great variety of conventional patterns, but it is remarkable that there are no subjects of a sacred character.

"At Hales Owen as at Chertsey fragments of tiles have for some years past been picked up from time to time about the ruins of the abbey, but none were preserved until a few years since, when several, which were discovered in making the foundations for some farm buildings, were, by the direction of Lord Lyttelton, to whom the site of the Abbey belongs, laid down in St. Kenelm's Chapel near to Hales Owen. On seeing these I recognised some of them as being identical with the Chertsey tiles, and as it seemed probable that an excavation might bring more to light, I induced the Archæological Section of the Birmingham and Midland Institute to bear the expense in the autumn of last year. It was not, however, attended by the results I had hoped for. Only a few tiles, and those small ones, were found unbroken, and although, by carefully sorting, and, where possible, fitting together the fragments found, I have been able to make out a number of designs, they are probably but a very small part of what formerly existed. The designs on the tiles found may be thus described:—

"There are seven or eight of the subjects from Tristram, and one from the life of King Richard, besides fragments of other similar designs—some not found at Chertsey—of which the subjects are not known. In some cases there were found portions of as many as six different tiles bearing the same design. Of the conventional designs on the Chertsey tiles only a few examples were found at Hales Owen, and no tiles were found exactly like those which were used at Chertsey for filling in the spaces between the circular tiles. For this purpose two sorts of tiles were used at Hales Owen, so shaped, that when four of each set were placed together they formed a square (each side of which measured about 17 inches), with an aperture in the centre to receive the circular tile. Round the circle there was in one set a band of grotesque animals, and in the other set the inscription already referred to. The angles were filled with a foliaged design of a less conventional type than that on the Chertsey tiles. The inscription, which is in Lombardic capitals, is as follows:—

ISTUD : OP' NICHOLAS MATRI : XTI DEDIT AIAS + VIGEAT :
AB[SQZ] : CHAO : MATER : DONA : NIHO :

[2] Arch. Journal, vol. xii. pp. 96 and 199.

"The letters between brackets do not occur entire on any of the fragments found, but there is no doubt that the blank is rightly supplied by them; and, with the contractions expanded, it will be seen that the words form two rhymed Latin hexameters—

ISTUD OPUS NICHOLAS MATRI CHRISTI DEDIT ABBAS
† VIGEAT ABSQUE CHAO MATER DONA NICHOLAO

This tomb Abbot Nicholas gave to the Mother of Christ.
That he may flourish without confusion, O Mother grant to Nicholas.

"Amongst the tiles found at Hales Owen were several of circular form bearing the figure of an abbot, seated, holding a book in his right hand, and in his left a pastoral staff. This subject was not found at Chertsey, and it seems probable that it was intended for an ideal representation of Nicholas.

"Of other subjects, not similar to any found at Chertsey, there are considerable portions of what no doubt originally was a set of tiles representing Christ and the Apostles. Each figure was on a separate tile, and was shown seated under an elaborate architectural canopy. The fragments found give the whole of the canopy, nearly the whole of the figure of Christ, in the act of benediction, and parts of St. Peter (recognised by the key), and other figures. There are also portions of two varieties of tiles representing angels censing, and several which bore the figures of two ecclesiastics standing. All these tiles were about 9½ in. square. There were, besides, a great number of smaller tiles, from four to five inches square, showing a great variety of designs, some of which are complete on a single tile, while others extend over four tiles. From a very careful examination of all the tiles found, and a comparison of them with those found at Chertsey, I have come to the conclusion that those from Hales Owen, although of various degrees of merit, and at first sight apparently of different dates, were nevertheless all made at the same time, and, further, that they were not made at the same place —because not from the same clay—as the tiles found at Chertsey. It seems likely that Nicholas—who, it seems clear from the inscription, was Abbot of Hales Owen—wishing to pave the abbey church, and having, perhaps, seen or heard of the pavement at Chertsey, thence obtained as many of the stamps or matrices as he could; and that from them, and from other stamps obtained elsewhere, and from some cut on purpose, he had the Hales Owen tiles made. From the wording of the inscription it seems that the pavement was laid down during the life-time of Nicholas; and if so, a tolerably close approximation to the date is, as has been said, possible; for, although the name of Nicholas is not to be found in the List of Abbots of Hales Owen given in Nash's Worcestershire,[3] it appears, from a deed relating to the patronage of Harborne Church, which Nash has given,[4] that Nicholas was abbot in 1277. Now, as we find, from the list referred to, that Thomas de Leche was abbot in 1276, it follows that Nicholas must have succeeded him in that year, or in 1277. The date of the death of Nicholas is also a matter of inference. A passage in the Annals of Worcester,[5] under

[3] Vol. ii. App. p. xxiii.
[4] Vol. ii. App. p. xxxi.
[5] Annales Monastici (Rolls Publications), vol. iv. p. 559. The marginal note to this passage refers to Hayles Abbey, in Gloucestershire, but this is a mistake, which is set right in the Corrigenda, vol. v. p. 436.

date 1298, records the death of an abbot of Hales, of whose name only the initial N. is given. If this does not refer to Nicholas, he must, of course, have died or resigned at a still earlier date, in which case the date of the pavement would be brought within still narrower limits. On the whole, therefore, I conclude that it cannot be earlier than 1276, and not later than 1298." [6]

After some remarks by Mr. SHURLOCK in reference to the Chertsey tiles as compared with those at Hales Owen, the CHAIRMAN expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Holliday for his interesting discourse.

Mr. J. H. PARKER gave an account of "The Remains of the House of Pudens and Claudius, the friends of St. Paul, in Rome." This interesting essay has been already given at p. 41 of this volume of the Journal.

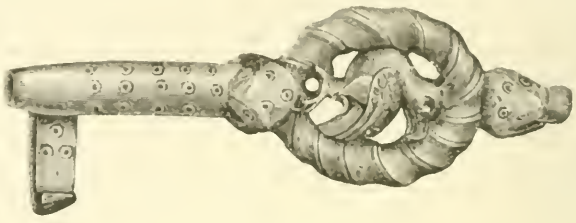
Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. SAMUEL BANKS, Rector of Cottenham, through Mr. S. S. Lewis.—Two small four-sided prisms of very hard stone, found in different places at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire. One of them, of dark black-coloured close-grained material, measures about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, by half an inch in breadth; the other, of a stone resembling a coarse jasper, and of yellowish-brown colour, measures nearly 2 inches in length, and somewhat less than half an inch in breadth on each of its four faces. The precise circumstances of discovery of the first are unknown; the second was found by Mr. Banks in a garden in the village. On one side of this last mentioned stone there appeared to be characters, indistinctly punctured, and possibly accidental. These objects have been supposed to be either touch-stones for goldsmiths' use, or burnishing implements, hones, or the like. There is, however, no distinct trace upon either of them indicating friction or any such abrasion and polish on the surface as must have occurred on stone of such hard quality if it had been used for any such mechanical uses. The appearance, under the microscope, of a few slight golden-coloured *spiculæ*, had probably suggested the notion that one of these objects might have been used as a touch-stone, but the conjecture seems improbable. At the same time the occurrence of these little objects at Cottenham has a certain degree of interest, on account of the numerous vestiges of Roman and probably also of earlier occupation in that part of Cambridgeshire. The Romans, Mr. Banks informs us, must have been much in the parish, the—Carr dyke runs for about two miles through it; on the south side of the dyke large quantities of broken pottery, and also entire vessels, are found; there may have been a large manufactory of wares, which could be sent by water carriage to the Trent. Two miles to the west of Cottenham there is a Roman camp, in the parish of Willingham, known as Belsar's Hills. Mr. Banks has obtained in the village of Cottenham various relics apparently Roman, but the chief finds are in the fen, whence numerous coins in bad condition are brought, including a few of silver. A bronze bust, of the highest class of art, discovered some years since on the borders of the Carr dyke, was exhibited by Mr. Banks at the Cambridge meeting in 1854. The Old Sand Way, a British track, passed through

[6] A more detailed account of the tiles, together with a notice of Hales Owen Abbey, will appear in the Proceedings of the Archæological section of the Birmingham and Midland Institute for 1871.

the parish. He obtained a British gold coin, now in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Further information regarding this interesting district will be found in Mr. Babington's Ancient Cambridgeshire, amongst the publications of that Society; a valuable map, there given, perfectly illustrates the position of vestiges near Cottenham.

By Mr. J. E. Nightingale.—A brass key, of elaborate and highly ornamental workmanship, of Norman character, dug up lately in some cottage allotment gardens at Wilton, where several mediæval relics, in-



cluding a brass matrix of a seal, with other articles, have been brought to light. The key, here figured, had been unfortunately soaked by the finder in strong acid, and partially worked over with a file to remove the crust of *ærugo*, so that it had been much injured. It measures 3 inches in length, and it will be seen that the design is very quaint and not ungraceful. The handle is wreathed, and encloses a bird, possibly a falcon, retrogardant; a grotesque animal's head, with a pellet between its jaws, is so contrived as to hold a ring or loop for suspension; the end of the stem is piped, which is not usual at so early a period.

By Sir Edmund H. Lechmere, Bart.—A portraiture of Our Lord, a *replica* of the same type as that supposed to have been a reproduction of the "Emerald Vernicle of the Vatican," the subject of a memoir by Mr. C. W. King in this Journal, vol. xxvii. p. 181, and there exemplified by an example preserved in the Isle of Man. Several others may be found noticed, vol. viii. p. 320; vol. xiv. p. 95. The painting now exhibited is on panel (10¾ inches in height by 5½ inches in breadth); it has been long in possession of Sir Edmund's family in Worcestershire, and is now preserved, with numerous fine works of the old masters and productions of more recent art, at his residence, near Upton-on-Severn. In the upper part is seen the head in profile, on a gold ground; beneath is the usual inscription, only slightly varied from those formerly given, as found on examples brought to meetings of the Society.

By Mr. Dundas, of Arniston.—A crucifix of sculptured ivory, of uncertain date. To the extremities of the limbs of the cross are attached small tablets, carved with representations of sacred subjects.

By Mr. Henry Hippisley.—An implement, as supposed of torture or penitential use. It was obtained in London some twelve years ago, and, as stated, had been dug up with half a dozen other objects of the same description at Waltham Cross, Essex. It is a long brass chain, of which many links are formed with sharp-toothed appendages, that give to it a most cruel aspect as an object of punishment or personal torment. It may have been worn round the neck for that purpose. At Garston,

Lancashire, a very horrible object of this description, but forming a scourge or *flagellum*, was recently found, at a depth of 2 feet, according to information received by Mr. Way from Dr. Cameron, of Liverpool. This scourge, ascribed to the fifteenth century, is of iron, consisting of seven chains, to which are attached sharp dentated rings. It is figured in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxvii. p. 157; the subject of such atrocious instruments of torture is also discussed by Mr. Syer Cuming, *ibid.*, p. 161. Such objects as that in Mr. Hippesley's possession may well recall the *flagrum talis tessellatum* of the priests of Cybele.

By Mr. Westlake.—Specimens of the reproduction of the painted glass in the church of Fairford, Gloucestershire, executed for the Hon. J. Fiennes. These specimens show the canopies differing much from those of the German school, in which the pinnacles are hoisted and the tracery interlaced.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

CYTTIAU'R GWYDDELOD; MEMOIRS ON REMAINS OF ANCIENT DWELLINGS IN HOLYHEAD ISLAND, EXPLORED IN 1862 AND 1868. By the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P., F.S.A. London: James Bain, 1, Haymarket; Minshull and Hughes, Chester. 1871. 8vo.

The attention of antiquaries has of late been frequently directed to vestiges of habitations of the earlier races by which the British Islands were occupied. The terms Pit-dwellings, Hut-circles, and the like, are now familiar to every archæologist. Of these remains, those especially to be traced within the area of some mountain fortress, in the fastnesses of uncultivated heights, in morasses, occasionally on some headland overhanging a rocky shore, may be ascribed to a remote age, prior to Roman invasion.. Cæsar found the swarming bucolic population of Britain hutted in abodes resembling those of Gaul—"Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrima que ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia." These Gallic dwellings, honourably designated edifices, were, as we learn from Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, of wood, of circular form, with conical roofs of straw. Cæsar also elsewhere observes, "Casæ Gallorum stramentis erant tectæ." The thatch in question was doubtless of brushwood, reeds, fern, or any *stramenta* nearest at hand. This general type of dwelling may probably have been retained from primitive antiquity; on the other hand, the cautious investigator of our circular sites should bear in mind the probability that in all parts of the country, the like simple rural type may not have been disused until days comparatively recent; as, indeed, still it is prevalent in North Britain, especially in the Hebrides and the Orkneys.

An interesting section of Pre-historic Archæology is presented to us in the semi-barbarous remains to which we have thus adverted; they vary considerably in character, although for the most part circular in form. The hut seems to have been sometimes quite troglodytic in its nature, and of considerable depth, in proportion to its very narrow diameter; such, amongst numerous examples that might be cited, are those excavated by the late Rev. F. Warre within the grand stronghold, Worlebury, that overhangs the Bristol Channel at Weston-super-Mare. Such, likewise, are certain dwellings near Salisbury, described by one of our most sagacious fellow-labourers in the pre-historic field of research, Mr. E. T. Stevens, to whose "Flint Chips"[1] we may refer for an account of these singularly curious remains of the "Neolithic" Age.[2] In other places the hut foundations, clustered over extensive areas, present the

[1] Flint Chips, a guide to Prehistoric Archæology, as illustrated by the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury; p. 57.

[2] Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. vol. xi. p. 305.

aspect of populous villages, such as the Pen Pits and the like vestiges in Wiltshire, regarded by Sir Richard Colt Hoare as habitations—"slight excavations, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees and sods of turf." Of such clusters of huts, placed, however, singly or apart from each other, Dr. Young has described remarkable examples near Whitby. Not less interesting remains have been traced near Newport, in the Isle of Wight, by the Rev. Edmund Kell, at Gallibury and Rowborough—a subject of attractive investigation at the next annual meeting of the Institute, when the varied antiquities of *Vectis* will be advantageously accessible from Southampton.

It has been suggested by some Archæologists that to a period of more advanced civilisation should be ascribed those circular dwellings, constructed with rude walls of unhewn stone, of which the ruinous sites are of frequent occurrence in the Principality, in Cornwall, on the heights of Shropshire and the Marches of Wales, on the Cheviots also, and elsewhere. Our present purpose would not admit of any detailed statement of the arguments. In a monograph of pre-historic remains of a domestic nature—still a desideratum in antiquarian literature—it would be requisite to carry out a careful and critical consideration of the nature of the most available materials in each locality where hut-circles occur. The use of simple rafters or poles, overlaid with boughs and sods, according to Sir Richard Colt Hoare's supposition above cited, would obviously prevail in a woodland country, whilst elsewhere, the ample supply of slaty or other stone suited for the construction of a rude dome of overstepped work, as in the typical examples of pagan houses in the Great Isle of Arran, and in Connemara, figured by Petrie (Round Towers, p. 126), the curious group of cloghauns at the ancient town of Fahan, county Kerry, figured by Mr. Dunoyer, in this Journal,[3] or in huts of more rude but analogous construction, noticed by Mr. Blight in Cornwall, could not fail to suggest the construction of such beehives as are actually the ordinary dwelling in certain parts of the Hebrides. Our lamented friend Dunoyer adverts also to similar buildings as frequently found, well preserved, in the mountains of Wales; a solitary example, however, has, to our knowledge, been there observed with the stone roof entire. It is on Penmaenmawr.

In connection with the interesting investigation of the constructive peculiarities of these remains, we may refer, with special satisfaction, to the memoir on "Ancient British Walls," by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, whose writings are always replete with sagacious observations.[4] Our inquiries will also derive much instructive information from recent explorations of "Prehistoric Antiquities of Dartmoor," by Mr. Spence Bate, to whose labours in the West we would refer with renewed satisfaction.[5] No systematic examination of the Cyttiau in the Principality had been carried out previously to that undertaken by Mr. Stanley, and carefully recorded by him in the Memoirs first published in this Journal. There appears to be no certain evidence whether the huts on his estates

[3] Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1861, p. 1.

[4] Arch. Journal, vol. xv. p. 5. The cloghauns in Kerry are closed with a stone at the apex. Mr. Dunoyer observes that "in Wales, where such buildings as these occur on the mountains in good preservation, the apex stone is omitted, or else largely perforated to allow of the escape of smoke, and to admit light."

[5] Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. iv. 1871, p. 491.

in Holyhead Island had been roofed with stones "stepped over," as in the dwellings last mentioned, or covered by a framework of wooden poles, overlaid with brushwood, turf, and the like. The supposition that they were actually domed with pieces of stone, overlapping each other, may appear, in some degree, confirmed by the breadth of the base of the circular walls, so far as the small portion now existing is to be seen. These walls are constructed of pieces of stone, now found embedded in earth, and compacted by coarse vegetation. Within living memory, however, those walls, of which the materials have been converted into fences and the like, were, as has been stated, as high as a man's shoulder. It is remarkable that the decaying sites of such forsaken abodes were, three centuries ago, sufficiently prominent to arrest the attention of the sagacious observer, Camden. In the account of Anglesey, given in his Britannia, in 1590, the following allusion (to cite the translation by Philemon Holland) is made to the Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod, and their supposed Irish origin:—"Besides certaine mounts of earth entrenched about, which they call The Irish mens cotages, there is a place also, named *Yn Hericy Gwidil*, of the Irish men, who, as we finde it recorded in the booke of *Triades*, under the leading of *Sirigus*, put the Britans to flight in that place."[6] At the *Murian Gwyddelod*, above Harlech, a group of circular chambers surrounded by large enclosures, the walls are in some instances 6 ft. high.

It is scarcely needful to observe at how early a period the spoliation of these "mounts of earth entrenched about" commenced, so soon as agricultural improvements, rendering enclosures necessary, caused the destruction of many venerable monuments of antiquity. In his Itinerary of Wales, Leland observes that "in tyme of mynde menne usid not in *Termoue*[7] to seperate theyr Grounde, but now stille more and more they digge Stony Hillokkes yn theyre Grounds, and with the Stones of them rudely congestid they devide theyre Grounds after *Deconshire* Fascion. In digging of these [they] digge up yn many Places yerthen Pottes with the Mouthes turnid downeward, conteyning *cinures et ossa mortuorum*."[8] This appears to be the first mention of cinerary urns in British barrows; they may not have been considered, as by certain continental philosophers, to be a kind of earth-born *fungi*; but more than a century later we find Sir Thomas Browne sorely perplexed by Leland's observation,—"Why the Anglesea Urns are placed with their mouths downward remains yet undiscovered."

The special subject of archaeological inquiry to which Mr. Stanley's researches relate had heretofore been neglected in England and Wales, where, however, numerous vestiges are to be found, especially in mountainous districts, where the advance of agricultural improvement has not effaced all traces of bygone generations. We cannot omit, however, to recall with satisfaction the instructive explorations by our brother archaeologists in North Britain. We cannot fail to recognise, in perusing Mr. Stanley's graphic descriptions, the strong resemblance both of the

[6] Britain, or a Chorographical Description, &c., by William Camden, translated by Philemon Holland, Doctour in Phy[illegible], 1637, p. 672.

[7] *In termine*, probably, or *qu. terminibus*, with boundaries.

[8] Itin. of John Leland, ed. Hearne, 1769, vol. v. p. 54, t. 50. The royal antiquary, it may be remembered, received from Henry VIII, in 1533, his commission to explore the monasteries and ancient sites in England.

rude dwellings, and of the relics recovered from them, to those in the far North, and the islands of the Scottish seas. We are greatly indebted to such laborious and intelligent investigators as Captain Thomas, Dr. Stuart, Mr. George Petrie, Dr. Traill, the Rev. James Brodie, Mr. James Anderson (Curator of the Royal Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh), to our lamented friend, Mr. Rhind also, with others whose honoured names we have in remembrance. In correspondence with Mr. Stanley, the following interesting remarks have been recently offered by Mr. Anderson, in reference to the remains explored in Holyhead Island :—

"The Memoirs on the Cyttiau present to us the best monograph that we possess on the subject of the dwellings of primitive times in the British Islands ; no one can peruse them without realising the value and importance of systematic exploration. The hut-circles that are scattered over the moorland districts in Scotland bear a remarkable resemblance to several of the group explored by Mr. Stanley. The out-buildings of the Brochs or Pictish towers—rude cells, with rounded corners built out of the fallen materials of the towers, have often the characteristic boles or ambries, small cupboard-like recesses in the walls. The relics that have been obtained from these early sites have a remarkable family resemblance, so to speak, to those brought to light at Ty Mawr and on the flanks of Holyhead Mountain. Bronze indeed appears to have been less scarce than it was amongst the hardy occupants of the remote north, but the stone troughs, hammer-stones, small vessels, spindle-whorls, and other relics of daily life seem to have been nearly the same.[9] The discovery recorded by Mr. Stanley of traces of pigment, possibly body-paint, is a curious and striking fact, and claims comparison with certain relics found in Orkney and elsewhere. The stone balls, with and without facets, are extremely common in the outbuildings of the Brochs ; so also are objects of jet ; necklaces, and buttons of that material usually occur, as at Pen y Bone, accompanying interments. It would be very desirable to carry out careful comparison between the relics obtained from the early habitations, and those of neighbouring sepulchral deposits.

"In regard to minor relics, it deserves notice that a few of the curious little polished stones figured in Mr. Stanley's second memoir, p. 6, counters possibly, or pieces for some game of chance, are to be seen in the National Museum of Antiquities, at Edinburgh ; they are, however, somewhat larger than the specimens from Ty Mawr. One of these was obtained from a Broch, the other from a kitchen-midden. In pursuing the instructive comparison with such objects as have occurred in North Britain, we find amongst those that have been obtained in Shetland, a sharpening-stone or whetstone with grooves worn in it, as in figs. 18 and 19 of Mr. Stanley's second memoir. It is of sandstone, the grooves measure three or four inches in length, and are fully half an inch in depth. It has been much prized, apparently : a hole has been cut through it, so as to pass a thong or string for convenient transport. Some interesting notices of mechanical appliances of this description will be found in Mr. Albert Way's supplementary remarks. (Third memoir, p. 20). The oval perforated stones (*ibid.* plate vi. fig. 4) are not very common in the

[9] Our readers will remember the objects of domestic use brought to light in a "Pict's House" in Caithness, by our lamented friend, Mr. Rhind, as related by him in this Journal.

south, or in Wales. The example there figured indicates by its fractured extremity the use for which it was intended. Such holed stones are of common occurrence in the north, usually flattened, rounded, water-worn pebbles, with a hole pecked through them from the opposite flat sides. They vary from two inches to eight or nine inches across the flat side, and usually bear no marks of having served as hand-hammers or the like. It has been imagined that the use of these perforated pebbles may, in some instances, be explained by a curious passage in the Gisli Saga :[1]— 'Ingiald had a son called Helgi, and he was an idiot, the biggest you ever saw, and utterly witless. He was so treated that a pierced stone was tied round his neck, and he grazed out of doors like a sheep.' May it not be inferred that it was the custom to attach pierced stones to the necks of sheep, probably to prevent their running too far off, by the knocking of the stone against their knees?

"Some of these holed stones, of which a few good specimens found in various parts of England have been noticed in the Arch. Jour., may have been weights, and rollers for the bottom ropes of a drag-net."

In the very limited state of our information regarding all early traces of domestic or personal life, nothing, it is obvious, which may supply evidence should be neglected. Mr. Stanley has done good service by rescuing from oblivion appliances that show the least measure of artificial adaptation in their form, and of which the original intention may often, through careful examination, be ultimately ascertained. For instance, holed stones of larger proportions and ruder construction than those above mentioned have occurred in hut-circles; their intention was at first sight by no means obvious. They may, however, serve to indicate the true nature and construction of the roofing, a point that has sometimes been in dispute. It is very probable that in many localities where suitable material was readily obtained, the covering of the bee-hive hut was of stone, overlapped or rudely domed, as in the Irish cloghauns and the primitive dwellings of Cornwall. Mr. Stanley has given some valuable remarks on this subject. (First Memoir, pp. 2, 7.) More frequently, it is probable, the roofing was constructed with wooden rafters, overlaid with brushwood, sods, and the like, the rafters being brought to a central point and there supported by an upright post. Such a stone disk embedded in the floor of the hut would be almost indispensable as a standard for the centre post. In Mr. Stuart's account of hut-circles at Strathardh (Proceedings, Soc. Ant., Scot., vol. vi. p. 408), it is mentioned that in the floor of one of the dwellings there were seven holes surrounded by stones, leaving a space sufficient to receive a good stout post. A similar hole was in the centre of the area. At Macduff, Banffshire, it was observed that the poles supporting the roof appeared to have been inserted, slanting-wise, in an earthen ridge that surrounded the hut. A systematic investigation of remains of this description, throughout the British islands, is greatly to be desired, and may, we hope, be originated through the impulse of the successful results of Mr. Stanley's well-directed researches.

Amongst the remarkable facts tending to elucidate the ancient condition of incipient civilization in Wales, as brought under our consideration through Mr. Stanley's explorations, none perhaps has a stronger claim on our

[1] See Dasent's translation, p. 76.

attention than the indications that the Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod have revealed of the practice of stone-boiling or stone-baking. (First Memoir, pp. 7, 18, 33.) A few obscure traces of this practice have occurred in other quarters of the British islands, such as the "milk-stones" in Hampshire, brought before us by Sir J. Clarke Jervoise, and the "pot-boilers" noticed in the neighbourhood of Andover by the Rev. E. Kell and Mr. C. Lockhart. Unquestionable indications also of the same usage occurred in the unique troglodytic habitations at Fisherton, near Salisbury, examined by Mr. E. T. Stevens, as detailed in his "Flint Chips," a work that comprises so copious and instructive a collection of ethnological and antiquarian evidence. The like vestiges of a very primitive culinary expedient are to be found in the sister kingdom. The observations elicited through Mr. Stanley's minute researches at Ty Mawr may henceforth, it is hoped, invite attention to these and other suggestive indications, that cannot fail to throw light on the habits and daily life of the races by whom these islands were successively occupied at a very remote period. We gladly invite notice to these valuable researches, more especially as we believe that Mr. Stanley purposes to give to the public the advantage of his matured experience, gained during his researches at Ty Mawr, in regard to the form and construction of the Cyttiau, comparing them with similar early habitations in other parts of the British islands. He will, moreover, it is hoped, give a further account of certain interesting relics discovered since the publication of his memoirs.

Archaeological Intelligence.

A VALUABLE and amply detailed memoir on the remarkable mural painting recently brought to light in Chaldon church, Surrey, has been contributed by Mr. J. G. Waller to the fourth volume of the "Transactions of the Surrey Archæological Society." Mr. Waller's admirable reproduction of that relic of early art in England was submitted to our society at their monthly meeting in London in April last, and on that occasion a very interesting discourse was given by our talented friend, to whom we are mainly indebted for the preservation of an example of early design and highly curious artistic symbolism, unique, probably, in this country. A chromo-lithographic illustration accompanies the memoir.

Mr. ROBERT FURLEY, F.S.A., announces the first portion of his "History of the Weald of Kent" as ready for issue. An outline of the early history of the county will be found in this work, and also a sketch, by Mr. H. B. Mackeson, of the physical features of the district. This contribution to local history is published, in two volumes, 8vo, by Mr. Igglesden, at Ashford, and Mr. J. Russell Smith, in London.

The Archæological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1871.

ADDRESS UPON THE HISTORY OF CARDIFF AND THE SURROUNDING DISTRICT.[1]

By the Most Noble the Marquis of BUTE.

In assuming the office which has been conferred upon me, I feel that it would be unseemly did I not make it my first duty to tender my thanks for being placed in this position. I beg leave now to do so, and to express my hope that no effort of mine may be found wanting to respond to the confidence which is reposed in me. I am well aware how inferior the result of those efforts must be to that which would be offered by many whose experience and knowledge are necessarily greater than mine. It is not without trepidation that I find myself exalted into a temporary Presidency, of however formal a character, among the distinguished antiquaries who are here drawn together. I beseech the indulgence of the members of the Institute for the faults which I can scarcely avoid committing, and I may say that however imperfect my discharge of the offices connected with the Presidency of the meeting may be, the will is not wanting to make it more adequate.

We, in the ancient Lordship of Morganwg, and especially in the town of Cardiff, congratulate ourselves upon the visit of the Institute, with the hopes which it brings us of the elucidation of our history and the skilful investigation and preservation of our antiquities. And we have, moreover, to congratulate ourselves on this, that we do not receive the Institute in a field which is either barren or likely to be unfruitful in those objects to which they are assembled to direct

[1] Read at the opening of the Annual Meeting at Cardiff, July 25, 1871, on taking the office of President of the Meeting.

their attention. While it is better for me to leave to others the scientific criticism of our legends and our history, and the more technical description of our monuments, in which I should necessarily fail, I cannot but rejoice that we are not wanting in that which must be the subject of their labours. The early beginnings of this place are enveloped in the golden, if confusing and illusory haze, which in all countries, but more especially here, covers those ages which the myths of centuries have peopled with heroic shadows. But I think we may say of these great legends, as has been well written of the worst of apocryphal gospels, that even when we may know them to be untrue, the subjects still invest them with interest. In shortly alluding to these and to later and more sober history, I may be excused if I confine myself more particularly to Cardiff. The great earthworks of the castle and the derivation by some of the name of Caerdydd from "Castra Didii" would, according to that story, lead us back into the first century, as being the legendary period of the foundation of Cardiff, and which the scanty Roman remains that have been found here are called in to support. This region is the home of the legend of Llewrwg Mawr, Lord of Morganwg, Lucius the "Light-bringer," to whom is attributed the bloodless conversion of his kingdom, and the establishment of that See of Llandaff whose limits are said to coincide with the borders of his dominions. From hence he is said to have sent to S. Eleutherius for missionaries, and to have received in return Fagan, Medwy, Dofan and Elfan, whose names have memorials in the churches of this neighbourhood. Here he is said to have laid down his crown, happy in the knowledge that his work among his nation was ended, and to have laboured in bearing the light to other peoples, till he found a distant grave in the church of Coire in Switzerland. I have a missal of the church of Coire, printed in 1497, the only copy of the existence of which I am aware, and it appears to me evident that upon whatever grounds, the belief of the inhabitants was that the preacher whose remains are described as resting in that Cathedral was the same Lucius who is termed the enlightener of Morganwg. The Gospel read on his feast commences with the words "Behold we have left all things, and have followed Thee;" and it is again markedly said "Thou hast set upon his head a crown of precious stones," which appears

to me to mean more than is usually attributed to it in this position. There is a passage full of puns upon the word Lucius, and at the end of the book there is a sequence of considerable poetic merit, though in very strange Latin, containing one or two words which I never learnt at school. In it I think Wales is meant by the word "Gallia," as it is still called in French "Pays de Galles," and the language "Gallois." Britain also is apostrophised by name as the happy mother of such a son.

In Cardiff is laid the scene of one of the best known incidents which figure in the heroic cycle of the Arthurian Romances. The battle of the Sparrow-hawk, which forms a feature in Tennyson's "Enid," is described in twelve pages of the history of Geraint in the Mabinogion; and at last when the defeated knight goes to ask pardon of Guinivere, the Queen asks him where Geraint overtook him, and he answers, "at the place where we were jousting, and contending for the Sparrow-hawk in the town which is now called Cardiff." The lordship of Morganwg finally passed out of native hands in 1090, and the scene of the last disastrous battle is fixed at Mynydd Buchan, the Heath, about a couple of miles from this spot. While I am not called upon to offer any historical criticism upon this event, I think I may oblige some of my hearers by repeating the story of the revolution, as it is commonly told. Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Lord of Morganwg, who is said in 1080 to have built largely at Cardiff, and after whom the keep or great tower at the castle is properly called, was in 1090 engaged in a war with Rhys ap Tewdwr, Lord of South Wales, and in an evil hour promised his daughter Nest in marriage to Einion, called the Traitor, if he would procure him Norman assistance. Einion accordingly was the means of bringing into Wales Sir Robert Fitzhamon and the twelve Knights of Glamorgan, from some of whom families in this county still trace their descent. The armies met at Hirwain. Rhys was defeated, and beheaded at a place thence called Pen Rhys to this day. The Normans were paid for their services, and embarked at Penarth to return home. There, however, they lay waiting for a fair wind, when the Traitor, who found his Prince unwilling to give him his daughter, persuaded them to return and seize the Lordship for themselves. The fatal engagement took place at the Heath. Jestyn fled to Somersetshire,

Nest was given over to Einion, and Fitzhamon seated himself at Cardiff as Lord of Glamorgan, in which capacity he issued several charters still extant. The adventurers divided the country among them, but all had lodgings within the Castle of Cardiff. The Lordship passed by the marriage of Fitzhamon's only daughter into the hands of the Earls of Gloucester, and in a few years afterwards Cardiff became the scene of that historical imprisonment which brings its name into every History of England. In the year 1108 Henry I. having taken prisoner his eldest brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, imprisoned him in Cardiff Castle, where he was confined for twenty-six years, until his death in 1134. As he is said to have been at Devizes in 1128, when his son was killed, it is possible that he was occasionally allowed to change his abode. The authentic records concerning his imprisonment are very few and scanty, and it may be hoped that the gross cruelties, such as putting out his eyes, with which it is said to have been accompanied, are without actual foundation. Such stories, however, were rife at the time, and in the year 1119, when Pope Callixtus II. met Henry I. at Gisors, he remonstrated with the King upon his treatment of his brother. Henry replied that, "As for his brother, he had not caused him to be bound in fetters like a captive enemy, but treating him like a noble pilgrim worn out with long sufferings, had placed him in a Royal castle, and supplied his table and wardrobe with all kinds of luxuries and delicacies in great abundance." We may hope that, in the words of William of Malmesbury, "He was kept by the laudable affection of his brother in free custody till the day of his death, for he endured no evil but solitude, if that can be called solitude where, by the attention of his keepers, he was provided with abundance, both of amusement and food." The same writer says of him, "He was so eloquent in his native tongue that none could be more pleasant; in other men's affairs no counsellor was more excellent; in military skill equal to any; yet through the easiness of his disposition, he was ever esteemed unfit to have the management of the State." The mention of his eloquence leads me to a circumstance which, I think, I ought to mention here. It is said that Robert set an example, which I wish were more widely followed, by learning the language of the people among whom he lived, and a poem in that language is

attributed to him. It is a sonnet, said to be addressed to a solitary oak, which stood alone on Penarth Head. I sincerely apologise to the meeting for my inability to recite this poem in the original. I am therefore obliged to substitute for it the following translation by Mr. Taliesin Williams, which first appeared in the notes to his poem of "Cardiff Castle." The heading is, "When Robert Prince of Normandy was imprisoned in Cardiff Castle, by Robert, son of Amon, he acquired the Welsh language, and seeing the Welsh bards there at the festivals, he admired them and became a bard," and these are the verses which he composed :—

"Oak that grew on battle mound
Where crimson torrents drenched the ground;
Woe waits the maddening broils where sparkling wine goes round.

Oak that grew on verdant plain,
Where gushed the blood of warriors slain;
The wretch in hatred's grasp may well of woes complain.

Oak that grew in verdure strong,
After bloodshed's direful wrong;
Woe waits the wretch who sits the sons of strife among.

Oak that grew on greensward bourn,
Its once fair branches tempest torn;
Whom envy's hate pursues shall long in anguish mourn.

Oak that grew on woodcliff high,
Where Severn's waves to winds reply;
Woe waits the wretch whose years tell not that death is nigh.

Oak that grew through years of woes,
Mid battle broils' unequalled throes;
Forlorn is he who prays that death his life may close."

In 1134 Robert died at Cardiff, and is stated to have been carried to Gloucester, and "buried with great honours in the pavement of the church before the altar." I went recently to that splendid church, but the site of Robert's grave is now forgotten. On the walls of the chapter-house have been discovered some blank shields, with inscriptions over them commencing "Hic jacet," followed by a name. They are possibly the names of persons buried in that church for whose souls there were foundations. One of them bears, "Hic jacet Robertus," &c. In one of the chapels of the apse is a large wooden image, said to represent the unfortunate prince. Without entering into any question of its date, which is hard to tell since it has been

gaudily painted at some recent period, I may merely remark that it was possibly used in funeral ceremonies. It does not claim to be contemporary, though it is recorded that an effigy was used at the funeral of Henry I. in 1136. The attitude is violent, and, unless my memory fails me, exactly the same as that of an ancient stone image on the tomb of a Templar in Dorchester church, near Oxford.

With the death of Robert, Duke of Normandy, ceases that period which I may be permitted to call the more picturesque. Into the genealogy and dates upon which the tamer, if more reliable history is constructed, I beg leave to allow more skilled workmen to enter, touching merely upon one or two leading statements. In the year 1158, the Welsh, under Ivor Bach, founder of Castle Coch and Morlais, are said to have resisted the oppressions of the Normans by an armed and successful attack upon Cardiff. The Welsh leader, says Giraldus, "after the manner of his people, had a property in the woods and mountains, of which the Earl of Gloucester strove to gain possession. The Castle of Cardiff is mightily defended with walls which ring by night with watchmen's cries. It is garrisoned by 120 soldiers, and a strong force of archers, and the paid retainers of the lord filled the town. Nevertheless, the said Ivor placed ladders by stealth against the wall, gained possession, and carried off the Earl, the Countess, and their only son to his own woodland fastnesses where he held them prisoners till he not only recovered that of which he had unjustly been deprived, but wrung from them concessions besides." In Cardiff came the first of those warnings which are said to have preceded the misfortunes of the later days of Henry II. Upon Low Sunday, in 1171, after church, the King was going out riding. An old man, "yellow haired, with a round tonsure, thin, gaunt, clothed in white, barefooted," addressed him in English, and bade him stay while he forbade him in the name of Christ, of the Holy Virgin, of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, to tolerate throughout his realm buying and selling, or any work beside necessary cooking on the Lord's Day. "Which command if he should obey, his undertakings should be prosperous." The King in French desired the groom who was holding his horse to "ask the clodhopper where he dreamt all that" (*inquire a rustico si ista somniaverit*). The question being put in English, the Seer answered in the

same language that whether he had dreamt it or not, if the king rebelled against his message he should hear that, within the year, of which he should suffer to the day of his death ; and within the year, says the writer, he heard that his sons had leagued against him. Under Edward I. the lordship of Glamorgan was assumed by the King on the pretence of a dispute about the boundary of the county at Morlais, which has only been settled in this nineteenth century, and he re-granted it with greatly weakened powers. With the death of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, killed by the Scotch at Bannockburn, the lordship of Glamorgan passed through his eldest sister to the Despensers, to whose taste and munificence we owe the once splendid castle of Caerphilly —at that time a far more important town than this. In the year 1404 the town and castle of Cardiff were almost entirely destroyed by Owen Glendwr. We are told that he besieged the town and castle, "and they that were within sent for help to the king, but he came not, nor sent them any succour." Owen then took the town of Cardiff, and burnt the whole of it, except the street where the Grey Friars' Convent was, which street and convent he spared, because of his love for those brethren. Then he took the castle, and destroyed it, and took away the great wealth which was therein, and the Grey Friars petitioned to have restored to them their books and chalices, which were in the castle for safety, and he answered them, "Wherefore have you stored your goods in the castle ? If ye had kept them in your house they had been safe." Isabel, heiress of the Despensers, married secondly Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the reign of Henry VI. In this family the lordship remained till it went by the Lady Ann of Warwick, wife of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the Crown, when he became Richard III. The lordship passed with the Crown to Henry VII., who made a grant of it to Jasper, Duke of Bedford, but upon his decease it again reverted to the Crown, and descended to Henry VIII. Edward VI. inherited it, and sold it to Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke.

With the renaissance I feel that that period, to the investigation of whose monuments your attention will be particularly called, ends. Had I a mind to weary you by any further remarks, I should have but little to say. In the

reign of Mary a person of the name of Rawlins White was burnt in Cardiff, at the instigation of the Bishop of Llandaff. There is an account of it by Fox, but the Archdeacon of Llandaff informs me that the Cathedral body have lost the original records of their proceedings on the occasion. In the reign of Elizabeth the inhabitants had sunk very low, and were given up to rioting and piracy. In January, 1577, John Davids, J.P., "excuses himself for not arresting Callice, the pirate, as Cardiff is the general resort of pirates, where they are sheltered and protected." In April, however, in the same year, Fabian Phillips and Thomas Lewys detail to the Council their proceedings in the examination of upwards of sixty of the pirates and their maintainers at Cardiff, and complain of the difficulties of their service, the townspeople being unwilling to give any information. A certain number of witnesses were, however, procured, and in the following year the Council obtained a confession from the men of Cardiff of their dealings in piracy, and a note is preserved of the charges to be brought against the prisoners. Some miscarriage of justice must have taken place if the same prisoners are meant when the Lords of the Admiralty were asked, in 1629, for a commission to try the twenty-three poor prisoners who then remained in Cardiff gaol for piracy. Iniquity at this dark period invaded even the Judicial Bench. In 1587 William Matthew, Justice of the Peace, being accused of the murder of Roger Phillips, at Cardiff, sent in a medical certificate to say that his health was too delicate to allow him to appear, but the Council of the Marches complain that he had immediately gone to London. In 1602, a brisk trade in cannon, for the use of the Spaniards, was being carried on. At the time of the Civil War the inhabitants turned their attention to politics, in which they were much divided. The town and castle were occasionally occupied by different factions, and the castle was once cannonaded by the Republicans. Charles I. came to Cardiff, whence he dates a letter to Prince Rupert, in August, 1645. There is an account in Clarendon of the difficulties which he experienced. He left Cardiff and went over the mountains to Brecknock, where he writes to the Prince of Wales, August 5th. It is unnecessary for me to allude further to the complicated events of this period, the most important of which was perhaps the battle of St. Fagan's. A person

named Evan Lewis played a remarkable part under the Commonwealth. In 1662 he was arrested for being in London contrary to the proclamation, and Walter Lloyd furnishes a description of him, in which he says, "he was indicted for highway robbery, fled to Eliz. Price, of Glamorganshire, who entertained him as a servant to her son John Price, one of the judges who condemned Col. Gerard and Dr. Hewitt to death. He then became governor of Cardiff, a sequestrator, committee man, and member of Parliament, and obtained signatures to an address for the murder of the late King, and to another justifying the same."

After the Restoration things must have remained at a very low ebb. In 1661 the civic authorities of Cardiff represented that they were already reduced to great poverty and on the verge of ruin in consequence of the wealth and prosperity of Caerphilly, and they procured the prohibition of the fair held there every three weeks; nor am I aware that that town ever after became of importance till the opening of the minerals up the country. Towards the latter end of the seventeenth century the system begun by the burning of Rawlins White was pursued by persecuting the Quakers and the Baptists, amongst whom Vavasor Powell is the most distinguished name. In concluding these remarks, with which I hope that I have not worn out your patience, I cannot but utter a word of regret at the total destruction of old St. Mary's Church, once finer than St. John's, by flood, and of the ancient walls and gates by the barbarism of men; to which latter cause we must assign the disappearance of the Blackfriars and the house of the Herberts at Grey Friars, as well as the appalling transformation of the castle at the beginning of this century. While engineering might have successfully resisted the encroachments of nature, it is your office by antiquarian education to raise around our monuments a bulwark against the ravages of the human destroyer. Would that our lost treasures had survived to receive a new lease of life from your presence. For those that remain we would fain hail the advent of the Institute as a good omen. Finally, I would again say with how much pleasure we greet you, and how heartily the Institute is welcome—while I must for myself again ask the indulgence of the members for what I fear will be a very inefficient discharge of the duty of President of the meeting.

ON FINGER-RINGS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

By C. DRURY FORTNUM, F.S.A.

In vol. xxvi. of the Archaeological Journal, issued by this Society in 1869, at page 137, will be found a somewhat hasty and inadequate notice of twenty-six finger rings of various materials.

All these are ornamented by engraving in intaglio or otherwise, with emblems, monograms, or inscriptions, by which we may conclude that they were, for the most part, fashioned for and used by Christians of the early period of the Church's history.

I now have the pleasure of exhibiting other examples of considerable interest, some of which it has since been my good fortune to obtain; and, in order to give some additional interest to the subject, I have laid upon the table the whole of my collection of early Christian rings, for inspection by the members of our Society.[1]

Before describing these additions to my cabinet, I would first propose entering into some consideration of the emblems of more frequent occurrence upon such rings, referring to the works of authors in which examples are recorded, and to collections in which specimens are preserved.

I would then briefly notice the early Christian rings preserved in those museums and private collections which I have had the opportunity of examining.

And, lastly, I would describe those which I now have the honour of presenting to the notice of the Institute.

In my former paper I have referred to the well-known passage in the Pedagogus Christianus of Clement of Alexandria. The emblematic representations recommended by him to the members of the Christian Church, for use as signets engraven upon their rings, are—The Dove; the Fish; the Ship running before the wind; the Lyre (a device

[1] This memoir was read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, February 2nd, the collection of rings being then exhibited.

used by Polycrates); the Ship's Anchor (which Silenus wore); a Man Fishing, by which the wearer will be reminded of the apostle and of the children drawn out of the water.

Accordingly we find in the works of Bosio, Aringhi, Boldetti, and later writers, descriptions and some figures of rings and ring stones, discovered in the catacombs and elsewhere, upon which these various emblems are represented. We also find upon rings, other emblems and devices figurative of the Christian faith, and frequently of very beautiful symbolism; together with sentences and words of acclamation. These are engraven upon the material of which the rings are formed, or upon stones with which they are set.

That gold rings were in use by Christians at the time of the Apostles may be inferred from the passage in the Epistle General of St. James, ch. ii. v. 2: "For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel," &c., and Prudentius is referred to (Peristeph., hymn i. v. 85) as an authority for their use, of gold, of silver, and adorned with precious stones. It is against the wearing too many of such adornments that Clement of Alexandria, St. Cyprian, and St. Jerome protest, desiring the use to be limited to one signet, the *annulus*, or *annulus sigillarius* of the Romans.

Two rings are preserved, which are said to have been worn by the Blessed Virgin. One of these was treasured in the Church of Sta. Anna at Rome, and is alluded to by Baronius. The other and more notable is at Perugia, and is formed of amethyst. It is spoken of by V. Du Saussay, in the Panoplia Episcopalis, 194; and there is a small volume by Jo. Baptista Laurus (*De annulo pronubo Deiparæ Virginis, Roma*, 1622), entirely devoted to the consideration of this relic, which I regret never having seen.

Boldetti refers to the *ansulæ* or simple rings of bone and ivory which have frequently been found attached to the closing bricks of the *loculi;* the smallness of some, and the large size of others of which, as also the fact of several occurring attached to the same niche, would preclude the idea of their being finger rings. Boldetti and Buonarotti were of opinion that they were for funereal use only. That term was, however, applied to simple hoops worn as finger rings, for it is recorded that St. Saturnus at his martyrdom

gave such an one to Pudens, dipping it in his blood—"*Ansulam de digito petiit, et vulneri suo mersam reddidit ei, hæreditatem pignoris relinquens illi, et memoriam sanguinis.*" Simple rings of iron and bronze have been found in the Catacombs.

1. One of the earliest, if not the most ancient emblem in use was the Anchor, which in the form of its upper portion at once represents a cross, and was a favourite device with the early Christians. It was, moreover, the emblem of hope in Christ, "the anchor of the soul, sure and stedfast." It sometimes occurs alone and upright, the transverse bar thus directly representing the cross or patibulum on which our Saviour was suspended; sometimes between the Greek letters Χ and Ρ, as also between the Α and Ω. On a gem mentioned by Bottari, it is seen between the letters Χ and Β, which, as he suggests, may stand for ΧΡΙCΤΟC·ΒΙΟC—Christ our life. In the Vatican Museum, on



No. 2 of the list of that collection which I shall presently give, it occurs with the ship. On the bronze rings in my own cabinet, described under Nos. 13 and 21 of my former paper, it is represented crossed by a second anchor with a single lower arm or fluke.[2]

In the Museum at Naples is a duplex ring of gold, on which this emblem is seen with the palm branch. On No. 1 of my list of the Castellani Collection, a gold ring, is the anchor of simple form, not having the loop or ring at the lower end, as so frequently depicted on the slabs of the Catacombs, nor the recurved arms; neither are the ends of the cross-bar wedge-shaped.

A ring figured by Boldetti, and from him by Macario (p. 157), Martigny, and others, has a bezel formed of two conjoined circles, upon one of which is a ship and on the other an anchor. This last, if rightly figured from the original, would cause some doubt as to the genuineness of the ring, the anchor being without cross-bar, the lower arms having double-winged or barbed flukes, like those in modern use. A similar careless misrepresentation occurs however in the engravings of anchors accompanying inscriptions.

[2] By the word fluke I do not wish to denote that flattened and winged or barbed extremity of the curved lower arm, which is characteristic of the modern anchor, and, I believe, never to be seen on antique representations, but the lower and hook formed arm itself.

2. The Cross. Volumes have been written upon this glorious emblem of our faith, but I do not propose going further into the subject than to mark those varieties recorded upon rings or ring stones. That the anchor was a covert representation of the cross there can be but little doubt;[3] and it seems equally probable that its use preceded that of the sacred monogram composed of the letters ☧ and P, *chi* and *rho*. That the "wedge-limbed" cross was derived from the form, and was to a certain extent representative of the Greek letter, as suggested by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, F.S.A., B.D., in his able paper on the Sarcophagus of Valerius Amandinus, in vol. xxvii. of the Archaeological Journal, would seem to be highly probable; but that it preceded the simple form represented by the upper portion of the anchor, may be open to question. A peculiar and early form of the cross occurs, which I have never observed upon rings, it is ✠ what in heraldry is termed a "cross cramponnée," the limbs of equal length having their extremities bent at a right angle to the right.

A plain upright cross +, having arms of equal length, and not wedge-shaped, occurs on various objects, and sometimes on rings. The same form turned one-fourth round becomes a "saltire," and would represent the letter ☧ of the sacred monogram. This again crossed perpendicularly by an upright stem is another variety ✳, which is referred to by Boldetti and Longpérier, and thought to be a form of sacred monogram derived from the letters I and ☧, and without the P. Of this variety we have an instance on the gold triple ring described in my former paper (No. 1). Dr. Smith is of opinion that these several forms were in use anterior to A.D. 312.



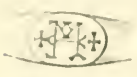
A further complication of this figure consists of two crosses crossing each other, and forming a star of eight points ✳. An example of this occurs on a ring in the Castellani Collection (No. 11 of my list). It also is seen apparently as a star upon a ring now in the Vatican (No. 15 of my list), and figured by Aringhi, Boldetti, Curtius, and others, in combination with a dove and the sacred mono-

[3] See De Rossi's references to gems, &c., in the Spicilegium of Pitra, noticed by the Rev. Mr. Joyce.

gram. Aringhi figures a foot-shaped stamp ring having the name IVSTVS and the star ✳ or double cross.

These forms lead us to, and are almost superseded by, the sacred monogram.

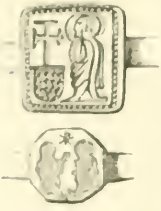
Nevertheless the cross occurs alone at a later date, in the form generally known as the Greek cross, as also with the lower limb elongated. Two varieties are frequent—one with wedge-formed limbs of equal length ✠ as seen on either side of a monogram on the gold ring described and figured



(No. 24) in my former paper, and which may be of earlier date than there stated. Also upon a gilt bronze ring in the Vatican (No. 17 of my list). It is the "cross patée" of heraldry. The other variety, having the lower limb longer than the others, we have illustrated on the gold Byzantine ring of the fifth century, bearing two portrait-heads, which I shall presently describe under No. 33.



Again we have another variety, the arms of which have a T *tau*-formed termination—the "cross potent" of the heralds. It is seen on a fine gold duplex ring in the Castellani Coll. (No. 2 of my list), above a monogram and beneath the name BLITHIA. Again on No. 3 of the same collection, on either side of a seated figure. In the Vatican, on Nos. 7 to 10, and on No. 14 with the word VIVAS. No. 26 of those in my own collection, figured in my former paper, is another instance, where it surmounts what may be a bunch of grapes, but which the Rev. Padre Garucci thinks may represent a glass cup, decorated with those bosses of blue or green colour enclosing subjects in gold, so well known to students of Christian antiquities, and which have been so ably illustrated by that learned antiquary. While upon this matter, I would call attention to the subject engraved on the bezel of the iron ring described by me in that paper under No. 22. On it are represented two figures, surmounted by the sacred monogram, probably intended for Sts. Peter and Paul, and exactly corresponding with the representations upon some of the gilded glass bottoms





of drinking-cups found in the Catacombs, and so well known.

The significance of the cross is palpable, and its power as a charm over evil well known. Prudentius says—

> "Crux pellit omne crimen,
> Fugierent crucem tenebra,
> Sali decat signo,
> Meus fluctuari neseit."—*Hymn* vi.

3. The sacred monogram composed of the letters Χ and Ρ, the *chi* and *rho* of the Greek alphabet. This emblem is found more frequently than any other on Christian rings and various objects, but it cannot be considered as one of the earlier symbols. It was adopted by Constantine on the *labarum*, although probably known and in use anterior to his placing it on the imperial standard. The earliest instance of its occurrence is said to be about A.D. 317, although it has also been stated that its first use was in A.D. 323. We find it alone, and accompanied by almost all the other emblems, with inscriptions, with monograms, and between the Α and ω.

Letronnius (quoted by Macario) thinks that its earliest form was as the upright Greek cross, the upper limb of which ☧ is looped to form the letter Ρ.

Under the ordinary form ☧ it was publicly used in 377. Macario, in his Hagioglypta (Paris, 1856), at pages 162-3, gives a great variety in the form of this monogram as occurring on monuments. He, however, sadly misrepresents an engraving from a ring given by Aringhi (Roma Subterranea, p. 385), and correctly copied by Curtius (Francesco de Corte) at p. 120 of his Syntagma. This ring, which belonged to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, was of crystal, with twisted or corded stem; upon the *scudo* or face was engraved an unusual type of the monogram ⚿ formed by an elongated Τ passing through the centre of the Χ, and having the reversed lobe of the Ϙ immediately beneath its top bar; thus combining the *tau* cross with that derived from the letter Χ. The letters ω and Α are, one on each side of the upper part; a snake coils round the base, on either side of which is a cock; the word SALVS is engraved beneath the bezel. It will be observed that the Α ω, as well as the Ρ,

are reversed, the ring having served as a seal. In Macario's engraving from Aringhi he reverses the letters as though copying from an impression of the signet, omitting the cross bar of the T above the loop of the P, and merely leaving us the ordinary monogram. Again, in place of the serpent at the base, as shown by Aringhi, he figures a sort of flower of four petals, and he represents the hoop as though fashioned like a series of cylindrical billets placed side by side, in lieu of being corded.

This interesting ring no longer exists in the Barberini cabinets. In answer to inquiries kindly made by a friend at my request, the librarian most courteously made recent search among all the private collections in the palace, as well as the contents of the library cabinets. It is supposed to have been swept away among the many thousand other objects of which Italy was pillaged during the devastating wars of the first years of this century.

The ordinary form of the monogram is seen alone or with other emblems on rings Nos. 11, 15, 16, 18 to 25 and 26 of my list of the Vatican collection, on one now missing from the Waterton collection with the ship, on No. 7 of the Castellani Collection, also with the ship. On No. 5 of that collection the P and X occur separately as on No. 14 of my own with the ship. Boldetti figures one on which it is placed between two palms.



In my own collection it is graven on No. 15 with a female and doves; on Nos. 18, 19 alone; on No. 20 with COSME VIVAS; and on the iron ring No. 22 with two figures. On No. 30, presently to be described, it is of the form of the upright slightly wedge-limbed cross; and on a fine gold ring in the Castellani Collection (No. 5) it is similarly formed of cloisons to contain precious stones or enamel. The same shape is seen on a stamp in the Vatican. The variety having a third and horizontal cross bar is to be seen on a rudely worked gold ring in the British Museum engraved on nicolo. This ring has been, not too well, figured by Edwards in his "History and Poetry of Finger Rings," at p. 40.



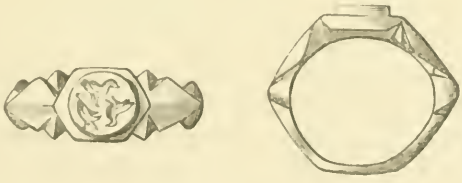






4. The letters A and ω, the alpha and omega under which our Lord is represented in the Apocalypse, "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last," "the beginning and the ending." These occur with other symbols as in the nielloed ring which I shall describe under No. 30, and again upon Nos. 16 and 26 in the list of those in the Vatican. Boldetti at p. 504 figures a ring on which these letters occur alone. The ω is, as far as my observation goes, always written thus, and not as the capital letter now in use. I may here add, as a correction to my former paper, that a more careful cleaning of the bronze ring there described under No. 10 has revealed the existence of the A ω, one on each side of the sacred monogram.

5. The Dove, which typifies the Holy Ghost, the Christian soul, or when flying with the palm or olive branch it represents the SPIRITVS . IN . PACE, having won the prize in the race or battle of life. It is frequently depicted with other emblems. On a ring figured by Aringhi, and now in the Vatican (No. 15 of my list), it occurs with the ☧ and a star. Boldetti mentions it on a flat gold ring; and a gold one is recorded by De Rossi, probably the fine ring now in the British Museum, set with an emerald on one side engraved with the fish, while the lower bezel has a tree engraved on the metal, surmounted by a dove, the letters of the name AEMILIA being on either side.[4] A bronze ring in the Waterton Collection (No. 3) is engraved with a dove. In my own



collection it is seen on No. 11 with the fish; on No. 15 with a female figure, probably typifying the church.

[4] In my former paper at p. 142, the first letter of this name is wrongly printed as F and the lower A omitted. On the ring they are reversed, as for a signet, thus:—

This ring is not too correctly represented at the top of Plate XVI. in Perret's "Catacombes de Rome," in which it is made to appear deeper in proportion to its width than is actually the case.

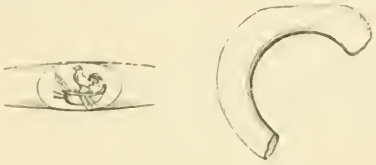
6. The fish, or ΙΧΘΥΣ, a symbol of our Lord, used because the letters of the word form an acrostic of His sacred name and title Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour. This symbol is one of the earliest, and occurs more frequently on gems, than engraved on the metal of rings. It is moreover the symbol more frequently forged in various ways than perhaps any other, that of the ☧ being however almost as often added to antique plain metal rings, and other objects, by the clever fabricators of false antiquities. The fish would sometimes appear to typify the Christian. It occurs on the fine gold ring in the British Museum, engraved upon the emerald with which it is set; on another gem, the fish, on the back of which is the dove with palm or olive branch, with the ☧ and the name RVFI. The ring of St. Arnulphus, which is considered to be earlier than the fourth century, and is preserved in the Cathedral of Metz, has an agate of milk-white colour on which a fish is engraved. In my own collection it is seen with two doves on the coarse bronze ring No. 11, and two fish, between which is an ear of corn, on No. 17. On No. 9 of the Castellani collection one large fish is seen between three smaller ones. Again on a simple gold ring in the museum at Naples. De Rossi describes about thirty genuine gems on which the fish and variations of the word ΙΧΘΥΣ occur. Some others have since been found.

Ιγσους. Χριστος. Θεου. Υιος. Σωτηρ.



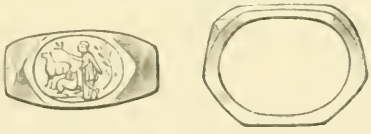
7. The Ship. This emblem is met with engraved on stones and on the metal bezel of rings. When alone it is considered to be emblematic of the happy voyage to the safe haven of eternity, whereas, when represented on the back of the fish it probably typifies the Church. In Boldetti we find figured a ring, already mentioned, with double bezel, on one of which is an anchor (of dubious form), and on the other a ship. In the Waterton Collection was a massive bronze signet ring, with the ship in full sail, having the sacred monogram upon the sail, while round it are the names, STEPÆNVS . HELENAE. In the Castellani Collection are two fine bronze rings in perfect preservation, on which this emblem is seen (Nos. 6 and 7), and it is rudely represented on No. 14 in my own cabinet. Alexander (Ref. Symb. Rom., 1628) describes a ring-stone, and another is given by Ficoroni (Gemme Antiq.) on which the ship is

borne upon a fish. The ring of Cardinal Borgia was set with an antique intaglio, the subject of which was a ship, having six rowers on one side, which, presuming the corresponding six on the other, would represent the twelve apostles ; there is also a pilot or helmsman, and the name IHCOYC inscribed on the reverse, allusive to Our Lord. Another variety of the



ship, on which is a cock, with palm, is seen on a jasper ring, No. 2 in my former list.

8. The Good Shepherd, the *Pastor bonus*, generally represented carrying the lamb in his arms or upon his shoulders, is a subject engraved upon ring-stones, but I have never seen it upon the metal bezel of the ring itself. Forgeries of this figure are also frequent. In the British Museum is an early Christian gem with this subject on red jasper ; another on carnelian, with a wreath and ☧, and the inscription, *Deus dedit vivas in Deo;* and also on an onyx of three strata between the fish and a palm. I may again refer to my own collection, No. 6 of which is a bronze ring set



with an intaglio on red jasper, representing the Shepherd holding a branch of olive to two sheep, a variety differing from the typical representation. The lamb alone occurs on a fine bronze ring in the Waterton Collection. Tertullian tells us that in his day it was usual to represent the *Pastor bonus* upon the chalice used for the commemoration of the Sacrament. "Procedant ipsæ pictura calicum vestrorum ubi est ovis perdita a Domino requisita et ejus humeris revecta."

9. The Palm Branch. This emblem occurring alone is one of various signification, as there is no doubt that it was in constant use as a pagan symbol of material victory, and adopted by the Christians as emblematic of the spiritual victory over

sin and death. For this reason, in the absence of other evidence to prove that the object on which it occurs is really Christian, I should hesitate accepting it alone as a warrant for such attribution. Mr. Waterton is of opinion that those really Christian may be distinguished by the rude manner of the representation, more truly, as he justly observes, figuring the natural object, but I cannot pin my faith on that alone. Among the rings discovered in Greek and Greco-Roman tombs by General Cesnola in the Island of Cyprus, were several children's rings, some of which are now in my possession; of those found together, some are rudely figured with a palm leaf, others inscribed in *opus punctatum* with the word ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΙC or ΕΠΑΓΑΘω—Ep' agathois, or agathō "to the good," child or children being understood, and from which we may infer that they were rewards or prizes given for success in learning, or in the games.[5] Moreover, no other Christian emblems have occurred on objects found with these rings. I should be disposed, therefore, to doubt whether the examples numbered 7, 8, and 9, and perhaps even 12, and described in my former paper, can really



be considered as Early Christian. The same doubt may attach to a silver ring with palm in the British Museum; to a duplex ring of gold with two palms, and to several small single rings of gold in the Naples Museum; as also to a gold one in the Waterton Collection.

When used as a Christian symbol the palm branch is also the emblem of martyrdom; it signifies victory over death, as seen by St. John in the Apocalypse.

[5] Mr. Oldfield suggests that these words may rather imply that the rings were given as rewards for the good deed or action, deeds or actions; as it would hardly be reasonable that one ring should be given between good children. It was also suggested that they may have been votive rings to the good deity or deities of the temple or spot where they were found. It is even more probable that the words signified, or were intended to convey, a wish or invocation of good to the recipient of the gift.

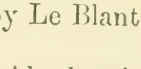
10. We find on some Christian rings and stamps words and sentences, or acclamations, of a parallel character though in a different spirit from those so frequently occurring upon Pagan Roman objects. Thus we have VIVAS . BIBE. &c., and again SPES . IN . DEO—VIVAS . IN . DEO alone, or accompanied by a proper name. On a gem in the British Museum we find DEVS . DEDIT . VIVAS . IN . DEO. De Rossi gives a nearly similar reading to the monogram on my ring, No. 16,



and on Nos. 3 and 4 are varieties of the second admonition. On No. 20 COSME . VIVAS . surrounds the sacred monogram. On the gold ring I shall presently describe it occurs with the name and a star. Upon shoe-sole shaped rings we have IN DEO. Again, upon larger stamps of bronze in the Vatican Museum, and upon one in my own collection to be described. A larger shoe-sole stamp in the Vatican bears SPES . IN . DEO. The word VIVAS alone, and accompanied by the palm and cross, and by the words IN . DEO, is also seen upon rings in the Vatican Collection (Nos. 6, 13, 14).

Some sixteen years or more since, a fine gold ring was discovered in the river Saone, which passed into the hands of Cardinal de Bonald. It is believed to be of the third or fourth century, and round the *chaton* is engraved the acclamation, VIVAS . IN . DEO . ASBOLI. It is figured by Le Blant (Insc. Chrét. de la Gaule, t. i. p. 64, pl. 6).

Other devices more rarely occur, as that of Abraham's Sacrifice, which I shall presently describe; the female figure typifying the Church on No. 15 of my former list; the ear of corn on No. 17; the lion on No. 25.



No. 8 of the Castellani series is a bronze ring with twisted shank of exactly similar character, and apparently of similar *provenance*, to those on which the ship is incised. This represents a hare or rabbit feeding on a bunch of grapes, and is believed by that gentleman to be a Christian emblem.

When last in Rome I purchased a solid gold antique ring engraved with the subject of a hare pursued by a dog.

I hesitated adopting the opinion of some, that a Christian emblem of persecution was here represented, agreeing rather with the suggestion of the Rev. Padre Garucci, that dogs chased hares before the days of Christianity. The ring is of the fourth or fifth century. Perret, in his folio work, "Catacombes de Rome," volume iv. on plate xvi. at No. 43, figures a gem on which this subject is represented, and which, it appears to me, has little more claim to rank as an early Christian emblem than that upon the gold ring in my possession, and which I have exhibited with the rest. I have already alluded to a bronze ring in the Waterton Collection, on which a sheep or lamb alone is engraven. In that gentleman's description of the portion of his rich *Dactyliotheca* contributed to the Special Loan Exhibition of 1862, at page 627 of the revised edition of the catalogue, he gives an explanatory account of the subject on a gold ring with silver bezel, engraved with an elaborate symbolical representation. I do not recollect having examined this ring, which has unfortunately been lost sight of during the vicissitudes to which that fine collection was exposed, previous to its being secured for the nation. A coarse double-bezeled ring, No. 6 in that collection, has the cross upon one, and the figure of an *orante* on the other.[6]

EARLY CHRISTIAN RINGS IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

As might be expected, the Vatican contains one of the richest collections of early Christian rings, many of which were found in the Catacombs.

I will briefly describe all the more important from notes taken directly from the rings themselves, the greater number of which I had an opportunity of minutely examining.

The majority are of bronze, of which the following,—

1. A key-ring, with circular projection, pierced with a cross, of precisely similar type to that presently to be described and figured (No. 32) from my own collection. It is believed to have been found in the Catacombs.

[6] While writing on a subject connected with early Christian antiquity, I am made too painfully aware that one kindly face is missing from amongst us, which used to beam over our table and our assembly, sparkling our dryest subject with a genial joke, enlightening us with a fund of learning, illustrating our discussions by apt reference, and now by the want of these we are sadly reminded how much we have lost in our lamented friend the very Rev. the Canon Rock.

2. One with circular bezel, on which is engraved the ship and the anchor.

3. Having a monogram on the bezel, , composed of the letters N . A . P . E . E and perhaps I. There is no Christian symbol on this ring, nor on that which follows.

4. With the letters ∃ ϥ reversed.

5. Having the separate letters P . X . (I had some doubt of the integrity of this ring, but it may have been over-cleaned).

6. Having a square bezel, inscribed VIVAS / INDEO

7 to 10. Three bronze hoops, each engraved with a ☩ "potent," and inscriptions which I was unable to transcribe.

11. A fine ring, with broad pelta-shaped bezel engraved with the ϥ between two stars * above a name, which in consequence of the oxidation of the metal is not clearly legible, but which appears to be composed of the letters N O T - - M or M I T - - M.

12. On the circular-oval bezel are inscribed two words separated by a transverse line, which Mr. Soden Smith suggests may be read—

Κυριε — O LORD
Σωτηρ(?) — (our) SAVIOVR.

13. A stamp-ring, of bronze, with bezel shaped as the sole of a shoe, and engraved with the word VIVAS reversed, SAVIV.

14. A hoop-ring, engraved with a branch of palm, a ☩, and the word VIVAS.

15. A bronze ring, with large oblong square bezel engraved with the ☧ (reversed) and the dove standing on an olive branch, and beneath a star. This is, in all probability, the ring engraved and described by Aringhi in the Roma Subterranea, p. 385, of his second volume.

16. The ☧ between Α and ω.

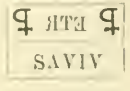
17. A bronze ring, gilt, with high trumpet-shaped bezel, similar to that described under No. 21 of my former paper, and engraved with a ✠.

18 to 25. Are bronze rings of less importance, engraved with the ☧ only, or with the dove, the palm, &c., one of which is formed as the sole of a shoe.

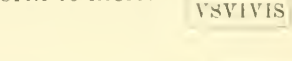
26. A bone or ivory ring, on the oval bezel of which is engraved the ☧ between the Α and Ω. This can hardly be one of the ansulæ referred to by Boldetti?

27. The only gold ring in the collection was found with a gold and a silver bell. It is a simple hoop, I think inscribed, but unfortunately I am unable to find a memorandum of the inscription.

As I shall presently have to direct your attention to a bronze stamp, found with the ring No. 30 in my own collection on which is represented the sacrifice of Abraham, I have appended hereto the inscriptions upon four similar stamps, which are also preserved in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. On one of them the following inscription in relief is upon the oblong square face of the stamp,

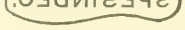


On another of similar form is incised



Another of the same shape is in relief, +ANST

Another, formed as the sole of a shoe, of larger size than the rings of that form, has the letters reversed and incised—



THE MUSEUM AT NAPLES

contains some Christian rings of gold.—

1. Of duplex form, is engraved with the palm and the anchor.

2. Of simple form, engraved with a fish.

3. Set with an intaglio on sard, engraved with a ship.

4. Duplex, with palms engraved on each bezel; doubtful whether Christian.

And several small gold rings engraved with a palm, which may or may not be Christian.

In several of the continental museums are to be seen antique rings with palms engraved upon them, and occasionally one with the sacred monogram.

The unfortunate state of the French capital, till lately,

has precluded my examination of the contents of her cabinets. I am therefore unable to refer to them in this paper.

THE CASTELLANI COLLECTION,

now exhibited in the British Museum, contains some remarkably fine early Christian rings.

1.[7] Of gold, a flat band swelling towards the bezel, on which is a raised oval, engraved with a simply-formed anchor.

2. A heavy duplex ring of gold, found at Orvieto; on the oval bezel of one of the united hoops is incised the name BLITHIA, and on the other ΒΛΙΘΙΑ, apparently a monogram of the same name.

3. A massive gold ring, set with a garnet, on the face of which is rudely engraved a draped figure seated between two Greek crosses, of the form known in heraldry as "potent." The gold setting is embossed with figures of doves on the shoulders.

4. A heavy plain gold ring, round, with flattened bezel, coarsely engraved with the palm (? Christian).

5. Gold; an octagonal hoop, swelling to the shoulders, and surmounted by the letter , formed of *cloisons* of gold, which have held stones or enamel. A remarkable and beautiful ring.

6. Bronze ring, with twisted or corded hoop and circular bezel, engraved with a ship propelled by oars, the mast and yard of which form a ☩ cross.

7. Bronze ring of similar form; on the bezel is engraved a ship, also propelled by oars, the mast of which supports a circle bearing the sacred monogram, 

8. Bronze ring of similar form; on the bezel is engraved a hare feeding on a bunch of grapes.

9. Bronze ring of coarse work, the bezel engraved with one large fish between three smaller ones.

10. Coarse bronze ring, with oval bezel, engraved with a cross or anchor, partially obliterated by wear.

[7] These Nos. are only used for the convenience of reference, and do not correspond with those of the Castellani Catalogue. The same remark applies to the other lists.

11. Coarse bronze ring, circular bezel, engraved with a double cross ✳.

THE WATERTON COLLECTION,

recently purchased for the South Kensington Museum, contains a few interesting specimens of early Christian rings. I have already referred to one exhibited by that gentleman in 1862, and to another engraved with a ship, but which are now unfortunately wanting in the series. Of those still in the collection are the following :—

1. A leaden ring, of coarse workmanship, having the figure of a cross punched upon the bezel (S. K. M. Inv., No. 607.71).

2. A small ring of gold, with broad flat hoop, swelling to the bezel, which bears a palm branch, rudely punched with a blunt instrument—possibly Christian (No. 467.71).

3. A heavy bronze signet ring, with massive hoop and projecting bezel, upon which is the figure of a dove ; the hoop is modelled as a wreath, having the bezel as a central ornament (No. 605.71).

4. A bronze signet ring, with oval bezel, on which is incised a sheep or lamb ; the hoop of this also is formed as a wreath (No. 604 71).

5. Of bronze, with square bezel, inscribed VIVAS IN DEO (No. 603.71).

6. A bronze ring of remarkable form : a hoop surmounted by a flat circular bezel, on which is rudely engraved the figure of an *orante* with nimbus ; on the opposite point of the hoop is a smaller tabular sigillum, engraved with a Greek cross. Of rude workmanship ; perhaps Byzantine (No. 606.71).

In the British Museum is a remarkable gold ring of analogous form, on one face of which are three interlaced triangles, and on the other intertwined circular lines, leaving the form of a cross in the centre. These lines, and others on the hoop, are in niello.

Mr. Crofton Croker, in his catalogue of rings and personal ornaments formed for Lady Londesborough, describes and figures under No. 152 a gold ring set with a stone of elongated octagonal form, and rising with sloping sides to the face, on which is engraved what is said to be a palm,

but what appears more closely to resemble an olive branch; while the sloping sides bear the inscription, TE . AMO . PARVM. It is stated to be of fine Roman workmanship, of the fourth or fifth century, and found at Amiens, and that the form of the gem resembles that of a Christian coffin lid. Without the opportunity of examining this ring, I should, from the engraving and description, have some doubt of its being early Christian.

No. 183 of the same catalogue, of "alchemy" or mixed metal, bears upon its face the sacred monogram, composed of the letters X and P.

The Braybrooke Collection, by the catalogue, would only appear to contain one which may be early Christian. It is No. 49, described as bearing the sacred monogram.

It is, in all probability, one of these rings which is figured by Mr. Fairholt, at page 85 of "Rambles of an Archæologist," 1871, in which volume his "Facts about Finger Rings" are reprinted from the Art Journal.

On plate xvi. of the fourth volume of Perret's "Catacombes" are figured several ring-stones, which, it seems to me, have no more claim to being of Christian origin than the many others on which the palm alone is engraved. Thus we have portrait heads with the palm, figures, and animals, which may be pagan as well as Christian. I have exhibited in my case some half-a-dozen antique rings, which have quite as strong a right to that distinction as those referred to in Perret's work. On one of gilded bronze is a rude palm or laurel branch. On the square bezel of another, also of bronze, is a male head in profile, having a palm on one side and the word VITA on the other. Another, of gold, is set with a nicolo, on which is engraved in intaglio a male and a female draped figures, facing each other, while "hand joins hand." She is the taller of the two, and behind her is a branch of palm. The lady may be a Christian or a pagan bride, or may represent a wingless victory, or a province welcoming a brave or fortunate ruler or soldier. Another bronze ring is engraved with a fish, but I fear it is a pagan gurnard, and the ring Greek or Italo-Ionic work, of too early a period for its conversion. Another bronze ring of curious form, with wide splayed shoulders of open work, is set with a paste, on which is what appears to be a peacock; but this again may be intended for Juno's emblematic bird, as well as a Christian

symbol. These have as strong a claim to be recorded among good Christians as many of those figured in the above named and other works, and which I fear may have been too easily admitted into the fold; but I hesitate accepting them, and they may not pass the *atrium* without further proof of character.

It is well known that when the tomb of Maria, the wife of the Emperor Honorius, was opened in the year 1544, a vast quantity of personal jewellery was discovered, nearly all of which has been dispersed and lost to knowledge. The *bulla* is preserved in the Trivulzio palace at Milan; but of the contents of one casket, her *Dactyliotheca*, plated with gold and silver, and containing more than 150 rings of gold set with gems and precious stones, nothing is left to us which can be recognised. Among these was the priceless emerald engraved with a portrait of Honorius, but whether many or few of them were ornamented with Christian symbols we are not informed; and indeed it is more probable that such was not the case, but that they were of the usual type of costly ornaments belonging to a Roman lady of high position, and treasured for their beauty and their value. But as a Christian lady she would more probably wear, at any rate on ordinary occasions, a signet ring, or rings, on which her faith was symbolically represented.

I will now proceed to describe the new additions to my own collection.

No. 27.[8] A gold ring of duplex form, the united bezels being each of elongated and pointed oval shape. On one is engraved the name



$\frac{\text{D}}{\text{A}}$ FILINAN, and on the other $\frac{\text{VIVAS}}{\text{IN DEO.}}$ * From between these ovals at their junction a line of six beads falls on either shoulder of the ring, the remainder of the hoop, diminishing in width from the bezel, being plain and rounded externally. It is of solid gold, and weighs 5½ pennyweights.

This remarkable ring was discovered in the neighbourhood of Masignano, a small township of the archdeaconry of

[8] These numbers are in sequence of those under which I described other Christian rings in my former paper.

Fermo, in the Marches, by some peasants who were digging trenches for planting trees, in the year 1860. They found some large slabs of stone, placed together to form a tomb, beneath which were pieces of cement and small fragments of gold, some bones of the deceased, and the ring. On hearing of the discovery my friend, Don Antonio Donati (till lately librarian to the college of the "Sapienza" at Rome), and who was then in the neighbourhood, immediately visited the spot for the purpose of ascertaining whether any inscription existed upon the stones; but none was found, nor could he hear of the discovery of any coins. He, however, secured the ring, which was shown by him at the Roman Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Objects in 1870, and which he subsequently ceded to me.

I have already referred to a duplex ring of gold, of somewhat coarser workmanship, preserved in the Castellani Collection, No. 2.

The ring now described is in all probability of the latter part of the third or beginning of the fourth century, although it has been stated that Christianity extended to that part of Italy as early as the second.

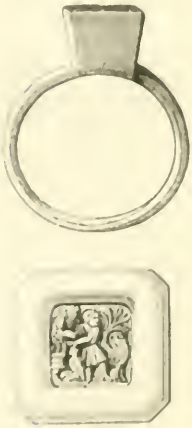
No. 28. A silver ring of duplex form, the united bezels being each of elongated and pointed oval shape, similar in general fashion to that of the gold ring just described, but wanting the bead-work on the shoulders, where, in the present example, the united bezels are received into a wider collar of the hoop, marked by two transverse incised lines. On one oval is engraved the name FAVSTVS, and on the other is the palm branch. The weight of this ring is 4 dwt. 4 grains. In the year 1865, during excavations made by Prince Torlonia, at Porto, on the northern side of the Tiber's mouth, ruins of a large house were discovered, which are believed to be those of the Xenodochio of Pammachio, the friend of St. Jerome. In and near these ruins many objects for domestic and table use were subsequently discovered, of glass, of pottery, bronze, and silver, the greater part, or nearly all of which were adorned with Christian subjects or Christian emblems. The larger number of these most interesting objects were presented by the Prince to the Christian Museum of the Vatican, and are now preserved there. They are described by Signor de Rossi in



his "Bulletino" for May and June, 1868, and in subsequent numbers of that work. But although many were acquired by the Vatican Museum some others escaped, notably some "rat-tailed" silver spoons, inscribed with names and monograms in niello, which are now in the rich collection formed by Signor Castellani, now exhibited at, and we hope secured for the British Museum. Among other small objects which escaped, the ring now under observation is believed to be one, having been sold in Rome by a person who had been employed at Porto. It was immediately recognised by Sig. de Rossi as being of the same workmanship, having the same patina, and bearing the same name as one of the spoons now in the Vatican, the figure of which, No. 6, will be seen on the plate from the "Bull. d'Arch. Crist.," Nov. and Dec., 1868. One of the spoons in the Castellani Collection bears the same name.

Christian rings of silver are unusual. The date of this specimen is probably of the latter half of the fourth century.

No. 29. A bronze ring, with high projecting bezel of square form, expanding to the shield; the hoop is a simple circle, of angular projection externally. On the square face the subject of Abraham's sacrifice is deeply engraved, covering the whole surface.



In the centre of the composition Abraham stands grasping the upraised knife in his right hand, while with the left he holds the head of Isaac, who kneels before the altar. Abraham's attention is seen to be arrested at the moment, for he looks behind over his left shoulder at the ram, standing beneath what would seem to be a palm branch. Above his right arm, and between the sword and the back of the patriarch's head, is what would appear to be the figure of an angel, but may also represent, as suggested by the Padre Garucci, rays of light (the celestial voice) descending to stay the sacrifice.

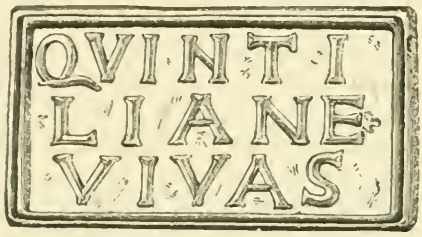
This figure or object, which is rendered with a near approach to accuracy in the accompanying engraving, is not sufficiently well defined in the intaglio of the ring to enable us to decide upon its nature with certainty, but I am dis-

posed to think that it conveys a rough idea of the figure of an angel quite as much as that of rays of light, or of a roll of a book.

The execution of the intaglio, which is in a perfect state of preservation, is superior to the fashion of the ring, and may be attributed, perhaps, to the latter end of the third century, but more probably to the fourth.

This subject is new upon a ring. It occurs in mosaics, on sarcophagi and lamps, on wall paintings, and on gilt glasses.

The ring, which I obtained in Rome during the winter before last, was brought by a person from Viterbo, in which neighbourhood it was presumed to have been found, together with the bronze stamp No. 29* (here also figured), and which is incised with the words QVINTILIANE VIVAS. This inscription is in intaglio and reversed, the stamp having been probably used for impressing the name upon pottery when in a soft state, previous to baking. The engraving shows the impression.



The Chevalier de Rossi, to whom I communicated these objects, giving him impressions from them, has published both in a late number of his valuable serial, the "Bulletino" (new series). Number 3 of the first year (1870) contains engravings from the ring and from the stamp; and in No. 1 of the second year (which has only recently arrived in England) he has given a description of them. Abraham's sacrifice he reminds us is typical of the sacrifice of Our Blessed Lord; and he states his opinion that the object represented between the back of Abraham's head and the sword, may be intended for a bundle of rolls of writings, tied together with cord or ribbon, and meant to express the volumes of the prophetic Scriptures; which gives to the subject a sublime symbolical meaning, proclaiming Abraham Father of the Faithful, in whose posterity all people should receive the promised blessing.[9]

[9] "Tra il capo di Abramo ed il ferro da lui impugnato, è un piccolo arnese dal mio disegnatore assai incertamente delineato. Nell' impronta che ho sotto gli occhi, favoritami dalla cortesia del possessore, parmi vedere un fascetto di

The Chevalier de Rossi agrees with me in assigning this ring to the latter end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. He publishes another stamp, which was brought into Rome for sale at about the same time as those just described, which may be of rather later date, and upon which the name FLORENTINI and the sacred monogram ☧ are incised. This was purchased by Count Gregorio Strogonof. And also an intaglio ring-stone, which was secured by the Rev. Padre Tongiorgi for the Kircherian Museum, and on which is engraved ΙΧΘΥC ΜΤ around an anchor with loop between its lower arms, which are recurved, and upon the stem of which a fish is placed. This may be an interesting emblematic representation of the Crucifixion.

The suggestion that these objects had perhaps been found in the neighbourhood of Viterbo, from the circumstance of their having been brought from that place for sale to Rome, may, I fear, have been imparted by me when conversing on the subject with the Chevalier, in language more affirmative than I intended; as he makes my communication the authority for such being the locality of their discovery.

I wish, therefore, to state that it was merely suggested as a probability, heightened by the indefinite information of the vendor, but not from any positive knowledge of the facts. This is the more necessary, as at the same time the Chevalier tells us that this would be the first instance recorded of the occurrence of Early Christian remains in the vicinity of that city. The duplex gold ring in the Castellani Collection, engraved with the name BLITHIA, is stated by that gentleman to have been found near Orvieto; possibly some locality between these two cities may have been the site at which all these objects were discovered.



No. 30. A bronze ring with square expanding bezel, on which is engraved the sacred symbol, the united *chi* and *rho* between the *alpha* and *omega* above, and two sheep below.

It is remarkable that although the ϙ is reversed as though intended for sealing, the *alpha* and *omega* are rightly

volume legato con cordicella o nastro, del quale pendono da ambi i lati le estremità. Così questo a mio avviso, il volume delle scritture profetiche, che danno alla scena il sublime simbolico significato e proclamano Abramo padre dei credenti nella cui posterità era promessa a tutti i popoli la benedizione."

placed, and would be reversed in the impression. The form of the sacred monogram is precisely similar to that on the sepulchral tablet of the boy Marcianus (except that the loop of the P is reversed), which is figured in plate 1, at page 279 in vol. xxvii. of our Society's Journal, in the Rev. Mr. Joyce's extremely interesting paper on the Sarcophagus of Valerius Amandinus, discovered at Westminster.

It may, however, be doubted whether the ring was intended for sealing, as there is an appearance inside the engraving on the bezel and the ornament of the hoop, as of the remains of niello, with which all the incisions may have been originally filled. The hoop is circular, swelling to the shoulders, and of angular section; it is ornamented with incisions, probably intended as palm leaves, and of similar character to that on the ring No. 16, described in my former paper, at page 144 of Vol. xxvi. of our Journal.

This interesting ring, which is probably of the middle of the fourth century, was recently brought to me from Rome.

No. 31 is a bronze ring, the bezel of which surmounts the swelling shoulders of a hoop of half-round wire, and is shaped as the sole of a shoe, upon which is coarsely incised INDEO, with a continuous border line of punctuations. The bronze is covered with a dark-green patina. This ring could hardly have been used for stamping or sealing, as the lettering reads rightly on the ring, and would of course be inverted in the impression.



Aringhi, followed by Francisco de Corte, figures a ring with shoe-sole shaped bezel, bearing the name IVSTVS with a *, which was found in the Catacomb of St. Agnese on the Via Nomentana.

There is a foot-shaped stamp ring in the Vatican Museum (No. 25), engraved with the palm and a sort of star, or double cross.

Boldetti gives an engraving, at page 506, of a ring-stamp, shaped as the side of a boot, on which are the letters MARO, and what seems to be a heart. It was found in the Cemetery of Priscilla.

The foot-stamp was probably typical of possession, the "*pedis positio*" among the Romans, but whether adopted

by the Christians as having another signification is a question which would lead me beyond the subject of this paper. It was a form used previously and contemporaneously by pagans, and similar rings, bearing names and words that cannot be assumed as Christian, are preserved in the Castellani, the Waterton, the British Museum, and other collections.

No. 32. A key-ring of bronze, which opened the lock by lifting a latch. It is a simple hoop, the bezel of which is slightly raised and flattened, and from the side of which projects a small neck, attaching a circular table flattened towards the ring. This is pierced with a cross, which is surrounded by a circular depression or bordering; the cross-shaped piercing corresponded with the wards of the lock. It is presumed to have been for the use of a Christian, as the emblem of that faith adopted for fashioning the wards, would hardly have been applied inadvertently at a period when the cross was looked upon as a badge of disgrace, or as the Christian standard. I have referred to a key-ring of similar form in the Christian Museum at the Vatican, which is believed to have been found in one of the Catacombs.



It is perhaps worthy of remark that the cross is placed in an upright position relatively to the hoop of the ring, and not as the letter X; neither is it in any degree wedge-limbed, but a pure Greek cross. I procured this ring several years since at Rome. It is perhaps of the fourth century.

Boldetti gives us figures of key-rings found in the Catacombs, but upon which no Christian emblems are to be seen. These have been supposed to possess talismanic properties from having been placed in contact with relics of the saints, a supposition which may savour of a later period than that at which they were made and worn.

No. 33. A gold signet-ring, formed as a hoop of angular projection externally and flat inside, which bears a circular button-like bezel, on the face of which are a male and a female bust, looking towards each other; above them is a cross, the lower limb of which is longer than the others, and all having a wedge-shaped termination.

The subject is incised upon the gold; the workmanship is of that rude and peculiar character so well known upon

the coins of the Byzantine emperors of the earlier half of the fifth century, and I am accordingly disposed to consider its probable date as about 440.



This ring is probably a *Bicephalic* matrimonial or love ring, having the portraits of husband and wife "respectant," as the language of heraldry would express. Such exist of pagan times, and I am reminded by Mr. Way that a ring of that class, found in the north of England, is figured in the Archæological Journal at vol. vii., p. 191. They were doubtless the prototypes of the love rings of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, some of which are in my collection.

It is a ring of Byzantine character, as regards its form and style of workmanship, and was sent to me from Athens. Its weight is $3\frac{5}{8}$ pennyweights.

It was my intention to have added to this paper a notice of Early Christian rings referred to by various writers, but to do this it would be necessary to go over considerable ground, the which, I find, has been already and most ably traversed; for only since writing the foregoing pages has an opportunity been afforded me, for the first time, of reading the interesting *brochure* by the Abbé Martigny, "*Des Anneaux chez les Premiers Chrétiens*" (*Macon*, 1858), in which I find that he has adopted an arrangement of the subject somewhat similar to mine. I have merely given a list of the emblems mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, and have then considered those met with upon *rings*, not venturing to do more than occasionally refer to engraved ring stones, or gems, in illustration of my subject. Upon these the Abbé Martigny, in the pamphlet just named, gives much interesting matter. His references to the works of previous writers are most valuable, as also to recent authorities on the engraved gems, but he does not refer directly to more than a few rings as existing in museums and private cabinets. Probably from the statements of Boldetti and other early writers, he tells us that such rings have been found in Catacombs in considerable quantity; but if such were ever the case, how few, comparatively, now remain to our knowledge.

I am afraid, in consequence of the many forgeries which have been produced within the last few years, that Early Christian engraved stones have been, and are often regarded with suspicion and consequent neglect.

The discrimination between a genuine antique intaglio or cameo and a modern imitation, is a matter requiring, in the first place, an inherent appreciation of those indescribable characteristics which distinguish the art of various epochs, and the power of a keen eye. The development of these faculties by the examination and comparison, the constant handling and intimacy with objects of art and antiquity of all sorts and periods, stimulated by a real love for them and for their study, is the next requirement. No amount of classic learning or book-knowledge will make up for the want of these; although most valuable, and indeed necessary for the elucidation of the objects themselves and of their history.

The art exhibited in Early Christian gems is almost invariably of a low order; they were, for the most part, the production of a period of decadence. The greater number have been cut by means of the wheel. Hence arises an additional difficulty in distinguishing the genuine from the false. Their rude workmanship is easy to copy with the same instrument as that with which they were cut; antique stones are abundant at hand, and Roman artists are apt and facile in imitation.

I do not think that the fabrication of Early Christian rings has been carried on quite to the same extent, but that such falsification is practised I can too truly testify. Some of the imitations in ivory and in silver are very ingenious, and well executed; fragments of antique ivory or bone are worked upon; as in the case of bronze, plain antique rings of which are engraved with the requisite emblems, and duly coloured; or, where they have held a stone or paste, it has been replaced by a modern intaglio with Christian symbol, the interstices being filled up with green wax, or a composition of the scraping of antique bronze and other ingredients.

It is greatly to be regretted that these nefarious practices among all the various objects of art and antiquity receive so much encouragement from dishonest vendors and unwary purchasers.

ON THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF SOUTH WALES.

By WILLIAM FLOYD.

The Normans in A.D. 1093 conquered South Wales, where, although the Welsh subsequently recovered the whole of Cardigan and most of the mountainous districts, they permanently maintained themselves in the most fertile portions of Brecknock and of the three southern counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Cardigan.

According to historians, this conquest was effected by several expeditions, made at different times, under different leaders, acting without any concert. The then King of England, it is said, countenanced, or at least allowed, these attacks, but was no further a party to them; and to each leader was left the right of apportioning the conquered lands among the followers who had taken part in his adventure; and hence arose the Lordships-Marchers of South Wales.

For this account, the only authority, such as it is, is tradition, the earliest notice of which that I have met with, though it no doubt was current long before, is of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The above account is, in my opinion, erroneous, and I shall endeavour to show that the war in which South Wales was conquered was a national war, and the great probability that William Rufus personally took part in it.

Before doing so, it will, however, be desirable to notice the previous proceedings of the Normans in the neighbourhood.

After the conquest of England in A.D. 1066, the three great earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford were established upon the borders of Wales; the last, which, besides Herefordshire, comprised all, or nearly all, of the county of Gloucester west of the Severn, was granted to William FitzOsborn, to whom, as Ordericus Vitalis says

(book 4, c. vii. vol. ii. p. 47, Bohn's edition), "Was given the charge, in conjunction with Walter de Lacy and other tried soldiers, of defending the frontier against the Welsh, who were breathing defiance."

The condition of South Wales was then one of anarchy; there being, besides the actual possessor, one native pretender, or more, to every little principality into which it was divided. FitzOsborn entered into an alliance with one of the princes who held the western part of Monmouthshire, a Caradoc ap Griffith ap Rydderch, the same who is mentioned, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the destroyer, in A.D. 1065, of Harold's buildings at Portskewett, and who is spoken of in Domesday as King Caradoc. With this aid, FitzOsborn, who died in February A.D. 1071, had won, as is shown by his donations to various religious houses, all the eastern part of Monmouthshire, extending westward at least to Raglan, as a charter of Walter Bloet (O. Mon. vol. ii. p. 989, line 50), confirming grants made by him in that place, makes manifest.

Such was the result: of the occurrences that led to it we have no details. The Brut, it is true, does state that, A.D. 1070, Caradoc, son of Griffith, son of Rhydderch, and the French, defeated Meredith,[1] son of Owen, on the banks of the river Rhymney, but the date given is probably incorrect; both it and the Welsh Annals saying the event happened in the same year as that in which, according to the Brut, Macmael Munbo, King of the Gwyddeliang, according to the Annals, Diermed, King of the Scots, was slain. The person referred to is Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-enbó, but his death is placed, not in A.D. 1070, but in A.D. 1072 by the Annals of Loch Cé. If A.D. 1072 be, as I believe, the correct date, it is so far of importance as showing that Roger, son of William FitzOsborn, and his successor in his English honours, continued in alliance with Caradoc ap Griffith.

In A.D. 1075 Earl Roger took part in an unsuccessful conspiracy against the Conqueror, and thereby lost all his

[1] The Meredith here spoken of was grandson of the Meredith ap Rydderch, who (Brut, p. 125) was one of the Welsh allied to the Normans. The Meredith here in A.D. 1116, was nephew of Rhys ap Tewdwr, but as his father Rhydderch married a daughter of Bleddyn ap Cynoyn, whose sons were adversaries of Rhys, he may have sided with them. If it were otherwise, it would show either that all the lands of the adherents of Rhys were not confiscated, or that some were subsequently restored.

lands. A portion of them, that which constituted what was subsequently called the Honour of Monmouth, were given, immediately after the Earl's fall, to a certain Wihenoc, who —not William FitzBaderon, as Dugdale says—was the first lord of that honour when held in capite of the Crown.[2]

In A.D. 1081 the Conqueror himself led an army into South Wales, of which we have the following notices. The Brut, "that he came for prayer on a pilgrimage to Menevia." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "that he lead an army into Wales, and there he set free many hundred persons." Henry of Huntington, "that he lead an army into Wales, and reduced it to submission;" which Wendover, who places it in A.D. 1079, explains by saying, "he received the homage and fealty of the petty princes." In Domesday we find some statement which explains and illustrates these quotations. At fol. 162, col. 1, it is said, "that several vills in Monmouthshire were wasted by King Caraduech;" and at fol. 185 b. col. 1, "that William de Schoies held eight ploughlands in the Castelry of Carlion."

Caerleon was a portion of Caradog's territory, and its possession was, for nearly two centuries after the taking of the Domesday survey, a subject of continual contention between his descendants and various Lord-Marchers. It is also to be noticed, that whilst all the other part of Monmouthshire in Norman possession was surveyed with the County of Gloucester, and administered by its Vice-count, Caerleon was surveyed with Herefordshire. The explanation of which I take to be, that it was not held by the Normans when Roger, Earl of Hereford, forfeited his lands.

Coupling these circumstances with what is said of the Conqueror's having set free many hundred persons, we may suppose that Caradog, in his warfare with the Normans, had obtained some notable advantage; but, unable to oppose a Royal army, had, on his submission, in A.D. 1081, been deprived of Caerleon.

The above is a supposition, and may be erroneous; but there can be no question of the confirmation which an entry in

[2] There can be no doubt Wihenoc was the predecessor of William FitzBaderon. The Book of Landaff (p. 266) expressly states that the Conqueror after the treason of Roger, Earl of Hereford, gave him the Castle of Monmouth. In the translation, the editor of that work has mistaken his name, there spelt Guerthenane, for that of a place. Moreover, in the Domesday account of the lands of William FitzBaderon, in Gloucestershire, it is mentioned of one of the manors that Wihenoc, his ancestor, held it. Wihenoc was, I believe, his uncle.

Domesday (fol. 179, col. 2), saying "Riset of Wales renders to King William £40," gives to what is said by Henry of Huntingdon. According to the Brut in A.D. 1077 (really 1079), Rhys ap Tewdwr began to reign. He is the Riset spoken of; and if there were any doubt that the sum named was paid as tribute for South Wales, it would be removed by another entry in the same book (fol. 269, col. 2), where Robert of Rhuddlan is stated to hold North Wales at farm for a like amount.

A difference in the chronology of the Welsh and Irish chronicles has been previously noticed. I am not competent to say which is correct, but believe that, from A.D. 1068 till some years after A.D. 1100, the marginal dates in the former are erroneous. That they are so from A.D. 1079 is certain: they place in that year the Conqueror's expedition into Wales; his death in A.D. 1085; the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr and Malcolm King of Scotland in A.D. 1091, and that of William Rufus in A.D. 1098. These events follow in the same order, and with like intervals, as in the English chronicles, but two years earlier; which is palpably a mistake, as there can be no doubt of the years in which the Conqueror, his son, or Malcolm, died.

The special reason for noticing this is, that writers of Welsh history and topography state that the conquest of Glamorgan and Brecknock occurred after the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, but in A.D. 1091; but such death, being by both Welsh and English chronicles ascribed to the same year as that of Malcolm King of Scotland, it clearly did not happen till A.D. 1093.

Both South Wales and England were, after the death of the Conqueror, in A.D. 1087, torn by internal dissensions. Rufus had to contend against the claims of his brother and the revolt of his barons, and Rhys ap Tewdwr was, for a time, driven from his country by his opponents. Eventually both overcame their difficulties, but it was not till A.D. 1093 that Rufus was able to turn his attention to Wales. Whether he had any just grounds for war cannot be said, but it is possible, and far from improbable, that Rhys, flushed by his successes over his rivals, may have refused, or, being impoverished by his struggles, may have been unable to pay the tribute due from his dominions. However that may be, in A.D. 1093, the Normans invaded South Wales,

and, meagre though our information be, it is yet less so than of any previous contest.

Easter Sunday that year fell on the 17th of April, and in Easter week a battle was fought near where Brecknock Castle was afterwards built, in which Rhys was defeated and slain. The importance of the event is marked both by the English and the Welsh chroniclers in almost similar words. Florence of Worcester adding, "From that day kings ceased to reign in Wales;" and the Brut, "that then fell the kingdom of the Britons." Nothing can better show the distracted state of Wales than that within a fortnight after this action Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, one of the former adversaries of Rhys, made a raid into and ravaged Dyved.

The Normans, their purposes being different, were more deliberate, and it was not till the 1st of July that they entered Cardigan and Dyved, "which," says the Brut, "they have still retained, and fortified castles, and seized upon all the lands of the Britons." This, there being no mention of any attack on either Wentlooge or Glamorgan, is all that either Welsh or English chroniclers directly tell us of the conquest of South Wales; but, incidentally, from the former we learn some circumstances of importance, which will be hereafter noticed.

It not being my intention to enter into the history of South Wales, my subsequent remarks will be confined to two questions; one as to the mutual bearings of the Normans and Welsh on the conquest, the other as to whether the war in which the conquest was effected was a national war.

Assuming, for the present, the latter to have been the case, there is nothing surprising in the rapidity with which South Wales was overrun. To a royal army the chief difficulties would have consisted in the nature of the country and in the conveyance of stores. But as the army, by the condition of its services, must necessarily be withdrawn, even if, which is improbable, it could have been provisioned had it remained; the difficulty was in holding the country after it was won. This could not have been accomplished by those who had accepted the task but with the goodwill of a considerable portion of the Welsh; such they would not have had if, as the Brut says, the Normans seized on all the lands of the Britons; and that they had not only

their good-will, but also their active assistance is shown by the Brut itself (pages 125 and 127).

That no universal confiscation followed upon the conquest is proved by the Pipe Roll of Henry I., and by two early documents in the Cartulary of Carmarthen, the latter of which also show that some Welshmen, and those of the best birth, retained extensive possessions.[3] In addition to this, the distribution of property, such as we find from records existed in Carmarthen during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., is totally inconsistent not only with a universal but even with a general confiscation of lands.

My opinion, therefore, in itself a reasonable one, and which besides is in accordance with the few facts with which we are acquainted, is, that the Normans took for themselves all the lands of Rhys ap Tewdwr and his adherents, whilst his opponents were left in possession of theirs, rendering the military service due for them.

The next subject for consideration is, whether the war was a national war; of which, were Rufus personally engaged in it, there can be no doubt. It will be advisable to commence by showing the reasons there are for believing that he was. According to Florence of Worcester and others, William, being seized with severe illness, removed to the neighbouring town of Gloucester, where he lay in a languishing condition during the whole of Lent. He was again at the same place, on the 24th of August, to meet Malcolm, King of the Scots, pursuant to a previous arrangement.

As in the interval South Wales was conquered—and there is no mention of his being elsewhere during that period—any one previously unacquainted with the subject would so

[3] The two documents referred to are, first, a notification of David, Bishop of St. David's (Carty. of Carmarthen, p. 10) that Griffin, son of Bledric, confirmed to the Priory of Carmarthen four carucates of land at Eglwysneweth given by his father. The following notices in the "Brut" explain who the Bledric was: (p. 139) it states that Cedivor, son of Collwyn, was prince of Dyved. At page 54, A. D. 1091 (1089), it says Cedivor, son of Collwyn, died, and his son Llowellyn and his brothers fought against Rhys ap Tewdwr, and were defeated. Again, page 127, A. D. 1116 (1113), it mentions that Bledri, son of Cedivor, was appointed, on the part of Henry I. to keep the castle of Langharne. Here we find one of the opponents of Rhys ap Tewdwr assisting the Normans, and, evidently, from the largeness of his gift to the Priory, having extensive estates. The second is a charter of William de Braos (page 12 in the same cartulary), saying that he, as Custos of Carmarthen, had given the church of Abernant, forfeited by the treason of Meredith FitzRichard, to the Priory. This charter is probably of the year A.D. 1196.

naturally assume that he was taking part in the conquest as to require, from those who maintained a contrary opinion, evidence to support their view. None such, as far as I know, could be produced, but much to support my position, for Gerald de Barri, in his "Itinerary" (book ii. chap. i.; Hoare's edition, vol. ii. p. 9), speaking of St. David's, says, "In clear weather the mountains of Ireland are visible from hence; on which account William, the son of William the Bastard, and the second of the Norman kings in England, who was called Rufus, and who had penetrated far into Wales, on seeing Ireland from these rocks, is reported to have said, 'I will summon hither all the ships of my realm, and with them make a bridge to attack that country.'"

Gerald was born about fifty years after the death of William Rufus, but, as his family were resident in Pembroke, his grandfather for some time custos of that Honour, and his uncle Bishop of St. David's, his testimony, so far as relates to William having been at St. David's, is almost as strong as would be that of a contemporary. This visit was made, I believe, in A.D. 1093.

The Welsh and Anglo-Saxon chronicles mention two expeditions of Rufus into Wales, one in A.D. 1095, the other in A.D. 1097. In the former, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle informs us that he led his troops to Snowdon; it therefore could not have been in that year he went to St. David's. Of the latter our information is less definite. "William," we are told, "marched into Wales with a large army, and his troops penetrated far into the country by means of some Welshmen who had come over to him, and were his guides. He remained there from midsummer till August, but, failing to effect his purpose, returned into England, and forthwith caused castles to be built on the marches."

The circumstances of William needing guides and causing castles to be built on the marches, show that this expedition was into North Wales. In the south, of which the Normans had retained possession for four years, even though it may have been a disputed possession, guides could scarcely have been needed; still less were castles on its marches when the Welsh had failed to drive their invaders from Pembroke. Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham mention, in similar words, an expedition of William into Wales in A.D. 1095, earlier than that before spoken of, which took place in the summer, but it

being in the winter season, there is no probability that he then went to St. David's. My opinion, it will be seen, is, that at no other time than A.D. 1093 could William have been at St. David's, but as the point admits of doubt, I shall proceed to other evidence. It has been previously mentioned that the Welsh chronicles notice incidentally, in connection with subsequent events circumstances that occurred in the war of A.D. 1093, and which bear also upon the present question.

In A.D. 1094 (1092) the Annals tell us that "William, King of the English, went to Normandy, and he there tarrying, and fighting against his brother, the Britons hurled away the yoke of the French, and purged North Wales, Cardigan and Dyved from them, and their castles, two excepted, namely, Pembroke and Rhyd y Gors." The Brut, more explicit, says "demolished all the castles of Cardigan and Dyved," except those named. For the present there is only one point in this sentence to which I wish to draw attention, namely, what was the writer's meaning in the words "and he there tarrying" (ipsoque ibi morante). It might be only meant to fix the date of the events; but for that it seems too indefinite, and rather, therefore, to imply that the Britons were availing themselves of William's absence in Normandy. If this latter meaning be accepted, it follows, that William, even if not himself present, yet rendered assistance to the conquest of South Wales, or his absence from or presence in England would be alike indifferent.

In A.D. 1096 (1094), the Welsh chroniclers say, "William FitzBaldwin died, who founded the castle of Rhyd y Gors, by the command of the King of England, and he being dead, the castle was deserted." This William FitzBaldwin was son of Baldwin the Vice-count of Domesday, and hereditary Vice-count of Devon. Rhyd y Gors was, I believe, old Carmarthen, but its exact position is of little moment so far as the present inquiry is concerned, that it was in the neighbourhood is clear from a passage in the Brut (p. 77): "Then Richard FitzBaldwin stored the castle of Rhyd y Gors, and Howel son of Goronwy was driven from his dominion—the man to whom King Henry had deputed the conservancy of the Vale of Tywi and Rhyd y Gors." This explanation was necessary, a recent writer of a history of Wales having asserted that Rhyd y Gors was in Powis.

The two quotations given from the Welsh chronicles establish the following facts: 1st. The castle of Rhyd y Gors, being one of the two which the Welsh were unable to capture in A.D. 1094, must have been built either early in that or in the previous year. 2nd. That before its building William FitzBaldwin was acting in Carmarthen as an officer of the crown. 3rd. That notwithstanding his public duties, as Vice-count of Devon, he continued so acting till his death in A.D. 1096. This, though not expressly stated, is implied, and was so understood (vol. i. p. 93) by the historian of Brecknockshire.

These facts seem to me totally inconsistent with any other opinion than that the conquest of South Wales was the result of a national war. It was not till July A.D. 1093 that the Normans enter Dyved; and in the same, or early in the following year, we find an officer of the crown by the king's command had built a castle there, and further that the same officer till his death, some two or three years later, remained there in command. Nor is this all. Had there not been several other castles erected by the Normans, the order of Rufus to build the castle of Rhyd y Gors might have been taken as merely a general one to build a castle, as it is none other than their special signification can be attributed to them, namely, that the site of Rhyd y Gors was expressly chosen; and for such to have been the case, Rufus must have had of it a personal knowledge.

What has been said renders, I think, the probabilities, both that South Wales was conquered in a national war, and that Rufus took in it a personal part, so strong, that the few other circumstances to be noted may be done so briefly. In the first place, the attacks on South Wales are said to have been made by bands whose leaders acted without any combination. Thus Jones (Hist. of Breck. v. i. p. 88) tells us, "In the following year, allured by the success of Robert FitzHamon and his accomplices, and perhaps invited by them to compleat the conquest of the principality, another swarm of freebooters entered into Brecknockshire, headed by Bernard de Newmarch." To this mode of action the Brut gives both a general and a specific denial: a general, where it states that the French, from Brecknock, as I understand it, went into Dyved and Ceredigion; a specific, when it says (p. 67) "that Ernulf, brother of the Earl of Shrews-

bury, had obtained Dyved for his share by ballot, and who magnificently built the castle of Pembroke." What the translator means by ballot I do not know; the word used by the Brut, "o goelbren," according to the Welsh dictionaries, is by lot. But whatever may be the interpretation, the expression implies there was a division, however made, and in that division Dyved was allotted to Arnulph. Such there would not have been had each leader acted solely for himself; consequently the war, if a private war, was undertaken by different bands, under allied leaders. Of these leaders, Arnulf de Montgomery, son of Roger Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of the chief conspirators against Rufus, and Bernard de Newmarch (Ord. Vit. b. viii. c. 2) was actually in arms against him; even then though they had submitted to the king, it is little likely he would have permitted the mustering of a large force in Herefordshire, under their command, when all the leading men of that county, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions, had been in rebellion against him.

The weightiest reason, however, for believing the war to have been a national one, is the cost it must have entailed. Of what that actually was, nor of the revenue of England at the period, have we any trustworthy evidence; but we cannot be much deceived in estimating that they bore the same proportion to each other, as they did in subsequent wars in Wales. Of the former we can speak with certainty, for among the foreign accounts of the Chancellor's Roll, 17 Edward I., is that of William de Luda, of the receipts and expenditure of the king's expedition to Wales, against Lewellin, son of Griffin, Prince of Wales, and David his brother, from Palm Sunday A° 10 (22nd March 1282), to the feast of S. Edmund's A° 13 (20th November 1284), by which it appears his receipts were £102,621, and his expenditure £90,248. Of the revenue I do not pretend to speak positively, but compute it to have been between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year; and accepting this as nearly correct, consider that the cost of a war with Wales to have equalled two-thirds of a year's revenue.

There may have been circumstances, though unknown to me, which might cause the proportionate cost to be less in the reign of Rufus than in that of Edward I., but there were certainly some which would have a contrary effect. The

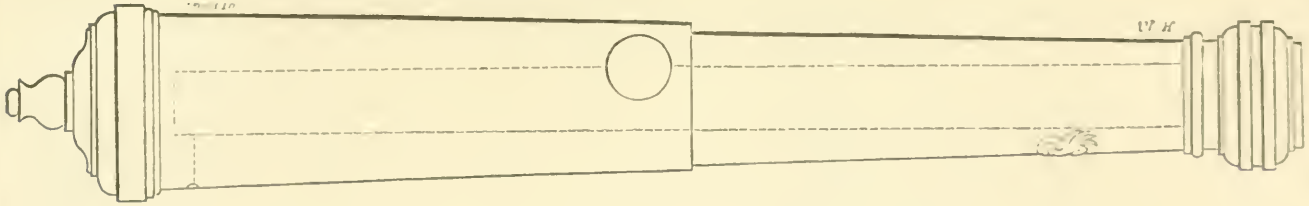
expedition of A.D. 1093 took place at that season when the harvest of the preceding year would be nearly consumed, whilst that of the year itself was unfit for use; and Wales being then, as William of Newburgh says (book ii. chap. 5), "barren of corn, and incapable of supplying its inhabitants with food without importation from England," all the corn food must necessarily have been brought from thence. Moreover, it would have to be conveyed and guarded during its conveyance from the borders of Herefordshire to Pembroke, a distance of more than one hundred miles. On the other hand, Edward, with his fleet and fortresses, would never have been more than twenty-five miles from his magazines. But even if the comparative cost of the earlier were much less than that of the later, the actual cost would yet have been far more than could have been defrayed save by the royal revenue; and the war, therefore, must have been national, and not private.

Had this been a history, and not an essay, giving the result of my conclusions, and not the reasons on which they were founded, it is thus that I should have narrated them.

In A.D. 1093, William Rufus, having overcome the difficulties with which, since his accession to the throne, he had been contending, resolved to invade South Wales. In the absence of any information no judgment as to the justice of this enterprise can be formed, but he was not improbably incited to it by the defeated opponents of Rhys ap Tewdwr. Accordingly, in the early part of the year, he went to Alveston, a royal demesne near Gloucester, to superintend the necessary preparations; but a severe illness and the affairs of the see of Canterbury, prevented him, when these were completed, from taking part in the first operations of his troops. These commenced in the middle of April with the invasion of Brecknockshire; and Rhys ap Tewdwr, in Easter week (April 17 to 24), rashly giving battle to his enemies, was defeated and slain near Brecknock. After this success, the victors, engaged, no doubt, in fortifying ports to secure their communications, and in bringing up provisions, previously stored, from the borders of England, remained inactive till the first of July, when, joined by William, they advanced into Cardigan and Pembroke, which they occupied without opposition. Whilst these events were in progress, an expedition from Devon,

under the command of its Vice-count, William FitzBaldwin, had taken possession of the southern parts of Carmarthenshire; passing through which country, on his return, Rufus fixed upon a site for, and directed the building of, the Castle of Rhyd y Gors. Thence he went on to Gloucester, for the meeting which had been arranged to take place there between him and Malcolm, King of Scotland, on the 24th of August. Whilst the heavy armour of the Normans was an immense advantage to them during the engagement, it would necessarily be very detrimental in the pursuit; it is not, therefore, at all likely that the number of Welsh slain in the battle at Brecknock was so large as to paralyse further opposition. We must look, then, for some other cause to account for the rapidity with which the conquest of South Wales was effected; nor is this far to be sought, since the opponents of Rhys ap Tewdwr would welcome the Normans as deliverers. In this there is nothing to create surprise; at all times the domestic enemy has been hated more bitterly than the foreign foe, and such feeling, if ever justifiable, was so at this time in South Wales; for Rhys ap Tewdwr, whose reign commenced in A.D. 1079 (1077), having been in A.D. 1089 (1087) expelled by his countrymen, returned the same year, and recovered his power by the aid of heathen and Scottish mercenaries, to whom he gave an immense sum of money, as the Brut says, but, according to the Annals, an immense tribute of captives ("Ingentem censum captivorum gentilibus et Scotis, Res filius Tewdwr, tradidit"). If this latter account be true, it cannot be a subject of surprise that the Normans, who, though foreigners, were at least Christians, should find allies amongst those whose fellow-countrymen had been given as slaves to heathens. Such are the conclusions at which I have arrived, but the information is so scanty that they cannot be put forward as certain, and it is only as being probable that they are advanced.







VENETIAN BRONZE GUNS RECOVERED BY DIVERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

By JOHN HEWITT.

A FEW years ago a party of sponge-divers at the Isle of Symi in the Mediterranean, discovered on the sea-floor a number of bronze guns of various forms and sizes. Subsequently a portion of them was raised, and they proved to be of Venetian manufacture. Advised of this curious find, General Lefroy immediately placed himself in communication with our Vice-Consul at Rhodes, M. Biliotti, and through his agency obtained for the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich three of the guns in question. They were received at the Rotunda in October, 1871, where they remain, open to the inspection of the public.

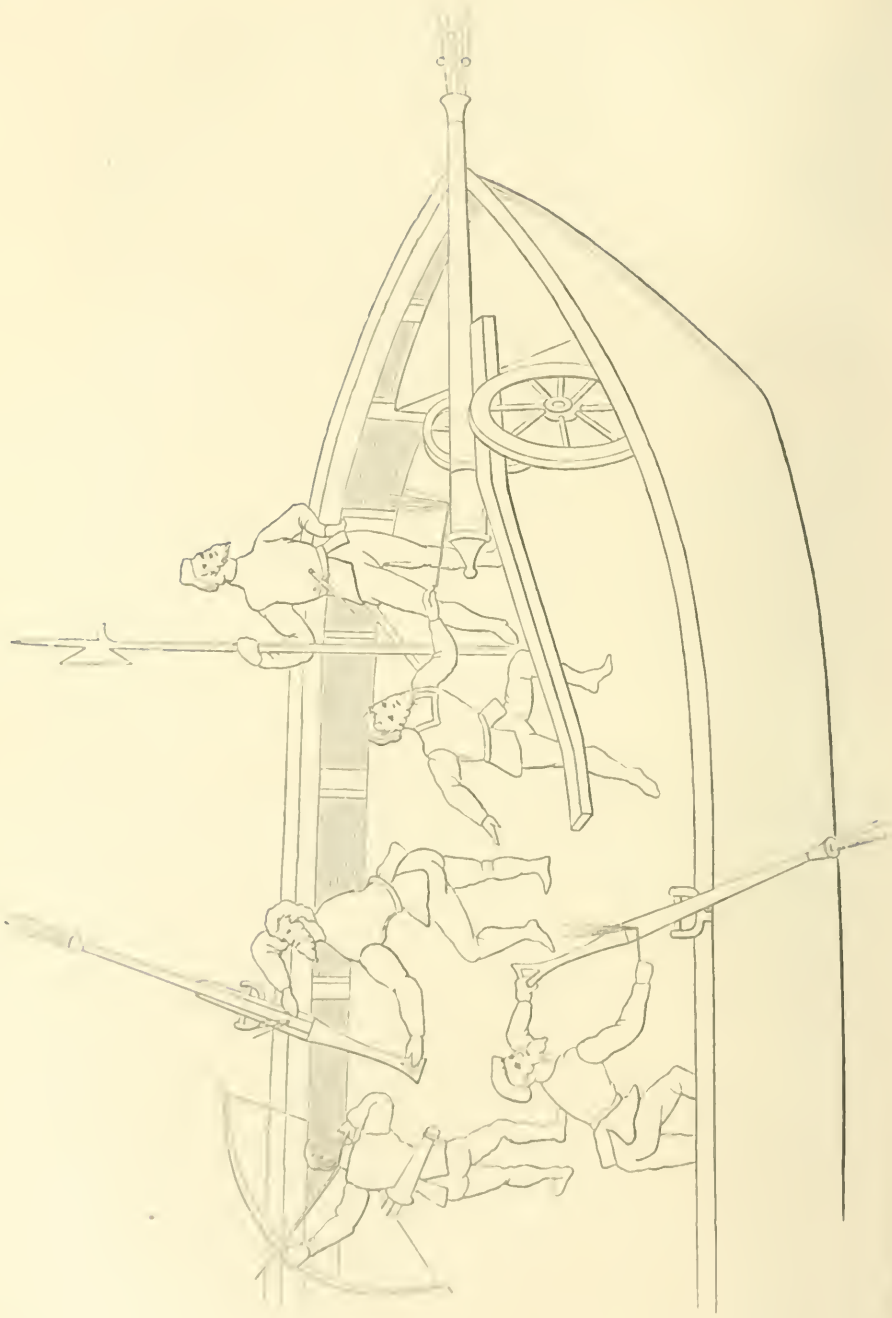
From the letter of the Vice-Consul in 1869 it appears that about forty bronze guns were seen by the divers, of which nine had then been recovered. The heaviest had not been fished up, and of these some are said to be 12 ft. long. It may reasonably be supposed that they formed the armament of some Venetian vessel or vessels that were sunk in these seas; whether by storm or battle can only be conjectured. And even this conjecture may be far from the truth.

The three guns at Woolwich are, a 6-pounder bronze muzzle-loader, 6 ft. 8 in. in length, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. calibre, weighing 12 cwt.; and two bronze breech-loaders with movable chambers, 3 ft. 4 in. long, weighing each 1 cwt. 2 qrs., calibre 3 in. Each piece bears the Lion of St. Mark, and the chambers, which are also of bronze, have the same badge. The square hole seen at the breech of the smaller gun was no doubt for a tiller. The movable chamber is curious from the channel formed across it for reception of the bolt; which bolt, passing through the holes at the side of the breech, occupied also the channel, and this wedged-up the chamber close to the chase. All three guns have cylindrical

trunnions, those of the larger piece prolonged from the lower line of the bore, as shown by the dotted lines of our sketch. A scientific friend calls our attention to the fact that while the breech-loaders are only half the weight of our modern guns of corresponding calibre, the muzzle-loader is double. It must be remembered, however, that of the old pieces, the larger only is a cannon, the other being a perrier; the first to carry iron shot with large charges of powder, the other to propel stone shot with a low charge. And how low a charge was often used, may be gathered from the fact that these perriers were commonly fired from a fixed pivot on the gunwale of a boat, where of course no recoil could be had.

It is an old weakness of virtuosi to exaggerate the antiquity of the memorials they encounter. Old guns in especial are subject to this fallacy. Crecy crops up immediately; and if that is not conceded, our virtuoso, with a truly Bismarckian obstinacy, takes his stand on the *ne plus ultra* of Agincourt. Breech-loaders with movable chambers are at once set down as of the remotest age, though a little inquiry would show that this nature of gun was still in vogue in Europe as late as the seventeenth century. Ufano, in 1613, engraves one precisely like the example before us, but with the tiller in its place, and tells us that such pieces, made of iron or of bronze, are still "fort usitées, principalement es navires" (chap. 5). Gasperoni figures the gun on its carriage, calling it a "petriera a braga." This example is copied in the fine work of General Marion and M. De Brette, "Recueil des Bouches-à-feu les plus remarquables," plate 54. See also the perriers engraved in the "Milice française" of Père Daniel, vol. i. plate 31. And the plate of Grose, vol. i. page 402. They are shown as employed for boat service, for ships, and for shore batteries; the last mounted on a kind of bench, and moving on pivots. We have already cited Ufano in 1613. Three years distant only, comes Florio (in 1611), who tells us that the Petriero a braga was "called of our Gunners a Fouler, being but about foure inches diameter at the mouth; there is another sort of six inches diameter, called Port-piece." The Petriero maschio, he adds, was "a kind of Perrier well fortified in the breeches and well mettalled, called a Male perrier;" and the Petriero femina was "a Female perrier, not so well fortified in the breeches as the former" (p. 374).





In Cotton MS., Augustus 3, a book supposed to have belonged to Henry VIII., may be seen a very curious drawing of a boat armed with swivel guns; there are eight guns in all, six on swivels on the gunwale, two on carriages. We give a drawing of half of this boat with its armament, the other half resembling it in all particulars. It will be observed that the gun on the stem is treble shotted; that on the stern is similarly loaded. Archers and halberdiers are mingled with the gunners.[1] In the work named above, "Recueil des bouches à feu," are figures of the pivoting breech-loading gun from real examples, showing the form of the wedge which secured the chamber in its place, and how it was attached by a chain to the tiller (plates 53 and 54). In the Tower may be seen a piece of similar fashion, made of iron, and moving on a pivot: probably a boat gun. Woolwich has another, of the same construction. The Chinese, it will be remembered, use the movable-chamber gun to the present day. The Chinese junk exhibited in London in 1852 was armed with such "gingals," which were fixed on pivots along the gunwale. Specimens of the arm are in the Tower and Woolwich collections.

On the subject of the retention of old forms in gunnery, we may allude to the hoop-and-stave breech-loaders recovered from the ship *Mary Rose*, sunk in 1545, and of which examples will be found at the Tower and Woolwich. These, if not well authenticated as to their *provenance*, would certainly have been put down to Crecy, and we should have had the old jumble of Froissart, and Villani, and Berthold Schwarz all over again. Iron-hooped guns are seen also in the picture at Hampton Court of the Embarkation of Henry VIII. from Dover: they are mounted on the forts. Some of the guns from the *Mary Rose* still retain the stone shot with which they were loaded when the vessel went down (No. 2 of Class 19 of the Tower Catalogue, and No. 10 of Class 1 of the Woolwich Catalogue).

In order to arrive at an opinion as to the age of the guns before us, or of any ancient specimens, it is necessary

[1] Some of the drawings in this *codex* may have formed a book belonging, as Strutt suggests, to Henry VIII., for they are clearly of his time. But others are decidedly later. However, the volume altogether is a perfect cyclopædia of military matters of the sixteenth century, and deserves to be carefully consulted by all who desire to know exactly the soldier's trade at this period.

to consider, not alone the general principle of their construction, but (as the architects do in their investigations) the particular fashion of the mouldings. Everybody knows what a wonderful difference there is between the deep channels of the "Early English" period of building and the shallow outline of the "Perpendicular" time. Not less striking is the contrast of the early and late contour of cannon mouldings; and it is from these only that a critical opinion of the age of old guns can be formed. We have, unfortunately, no hand-chart of such mouldings, so that every particular case has to be worked out by a special comparison of contemporary examples. From a careful examination of this kind we are inclined to place the age of the larger gun here represented as not earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century. As authorities, we may refer to Plates 13, 14, 27, 41, and 46 of the "Recueil des Bouches-à-Feu," and Plates 37 and 38 of Colonel Favé's third volume of "Le Passé et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie." The little brass gun (faucon) of Charles I., cast in 1638, in the Woolwich series, may be compared with the Venetian example now under consideration; both muzzle mouldings and breech mouldings are almost identical. See also, of the Woolwich Collection, Nos. 120, 137, 140, 145, and 127 of Class 2. The breech-loader of our drawing may be of any time, 1500 or 1600; but, as in the case of the "Geese and the Cranes," being found in company with the six-pounder, must be content to share the fate of that *ultima ratio regum*.

Original Documents.

"EXTENTÆ DE KAIRDIFF, LANTRISSEN, LANGUNIHT, NEHT, LANILTWIT ET LISWRINI," IN THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

(Wallia, Bag I., No. 15, P. R. O.)

The Bag from whence the following records have been drawn, brought to my notice by Mr. Burtt, contains ten documents upon a file, all evidently of one date, and all relating to Glamorgan or Monmouth. The first and most important is the Extent of the County of Glamorgan. This has recently been printed in this volume of the Journal (p. 60), and the five which follow—Llantwit and Lysworney being combined—relate to places within that county. The four not given belong to Monmouthshire, and are Extents of Usk, Llantrissant, Cwmcarvan with Troy, and Newport with Stow.

Of all these documents, as of the county extent, the seals are lost, but the name of each sealer is written in a contemporary hand, upon the end of the label to which the wax was attached.

EXTENTA DE KAIRDIIF.

Extenta ville de Kairdiif facta per sacramentum Roberti Upedyke, Stephani Bagedrip, Ricardi Lude, Thome Kene, Willelmi Selicok, Walteri Cornubiensis, Ricardi Crispi, Roberti Coleswein, Ricardi Rumbold, Hugonis Faucun, Ade Midewinter, et Simonis Fox. Qui jurati dicunt quod

Redditus burgi est	xx^{li}	iiij^{s}	viij^{d}
Et Molendina valent	xlvi	o	o
Et de prisa cervisie	xiiij	o	o
Et de piscaria	viij	o	o
Et de theloneo mercati	iiij	o	o
Et de nundinis, quia domus Magdalene Bristollie percepit xx^{s} annuatim de eisdem nundinis per cartam domini Comitis . .		vi	viij
Et de prisa busce et carbonis . . .		x	o
Et de placitis et perquisitis Hundredi et pro licencia cariandi meiremium in Angliam .		lx	o

[£96 1*s.* 4*d.*] Summa iiij^{xx} xvj^{li} o^{s} et xv^{d}

[Nomen amissum,] Stephani Bagedrip, Ricardi Lude, Thomas Kene, [nomen amissum,] Walterus Cornubiensis, Ricardus Crispi, Robertus Coleswein, Ricardus Rumbold, Hugo Faucun, Adam Midewinter, Simon Fox.

Endorsed "Kayrdiif."

Of the names, Bagedrip, sometimes Bagdrip, and more usually Bawdrip, is the only one connected with the land of the county. Bawdrip is a place near Bridgewater whence the family probably came, and in after-times they were settled at Splot, near Cardiff, and at Odyns Fee, in Penmark. The other names, also all English, have not been detected in later Cardiff records.

EXTENTA DE LANTRISSEN.

Extenta de Lantrissen per preceptum domini Regis facta per sacramentum Howell Vochan, Ivor ab Cacherot, Lewelin ab Meuric, Yorverht ab Adam, Yvwan ab Yssac, Yorverht ab Wrgeneo, Yorverht Vochan, Lewelin ab Howell, Griffid Goch ab Lewelin, Philip ab Lewelin, Yvwan ab Wianu, et Griffid Goch ab Howel. Qui jurati dicunt quod

Redditus burgi est		xiij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Et de redditibus liberorum et rusticorum .	x^{li}	o	o
Et de auxilio ad lardarium		xv	o
Et pro molendino de Brosseley . . .		iij	iiij
Et dominicum debile continet v carucatas terre valet tempore pacis		l	o
Et lij acre more que potest falcari . .		viij	viij
Et de piscaria		ij	o
Et de j Molendino		xx	o
Et de Forestariis		x	o
Et de servicio rusticorum in autumpno . .		xiij	iiij
Et de pannagio		iiij	o
Et de redditu plumbi		x	o
Et de Trewern et Lanveir ad auxilium ad lardarium		vj	o
Et de redditu et servicio liberorum et rusticorum captorum de tenementis de Sancti Fagano		lxiij	ix ob.
Et de erbagio ibidem		x	o
Et de terra locata ibidem		xix	o
Et de redditu Adaaf ab Yvor pro j esperuario		ij	o
Et de placitis et perquisitis curiarum . .	x^{li}	o	o
Summa	xxxij^{li}	x^{s}	v ob.

Et est ibi advocacio ecclesie de Lantrissen que valet xx marcas et pertinet ad Comitem. Et advocacio ecclesie de Pentirech que valet iiij marcas. Et memorandum quod predictum molendinum tempore pacis solet valere xx marcas. Et aliud molendinum quod ibidem similiter solet valere xx marcas combustum est et destructum omnino. Et C mansiones sunt ibidem destructe et de gwerra. Et memorandum quod filii Morgan Cadewalthan habent Glynrotheni.

Howel Vochan [duo nomina amissa], Yorverht ab Adam, Yawan ab Isaac, Yorverht ab Wrgene, Yorverht Vochan [nomen amissum], Griffid Goch ab Lewelin, Philip ab Lewelin, Yvwan ab Wianu, Griffid Goch ab Howel.

Endorsed "Extenta de Lantrissen."

The two sons of Morgan Cadewalthan are mentioned in the County Extent previously printed as holding half a commod in Glynrotheni.

EXTENTA DE LANGUNIHT.

Extenta de Languniht per preceptum domini Regis facta per sacramentum Griffini ab Rees, Wilim ab Yorverht, Henrici ab Griffid, Cradouc ab Yorverht, Lewelin ab Yvor, Tuder ab Rees, Res ab Eneir, Meuric ab Rees, Cradouc ab Gwither, Madouc Vochan, Yorverht ab Gronu, et Howel ab Felip. Qui dicunt quod

De redditu assiso	iiij^{li}	iij^{s}	iiij^{d} ob.
Et de redditu molendini quod est ad feodum		l	o
Et de consuetudine ad lardarium . .		xxj	o
Et sunt ibi xij acre terre que valent . .		ij	o
Et de placitis et perquisitis curiarum . .	vij	o	o
Et molendina de Kenefeic valent . .	xij	xiij	iiij
Et dominus Rogerus de Clifford de dono Comitis tenet totum residuum ejusdem ville de Kenefeic			
Summa	xxvii^{li}	ix^{s}	viij^{d} ob.

Et est ibi advocacio ecclesie Langoniht que pertinet ad Comitem que valet vj marcas. Et sunt ibi iiij^{xx} mansiones destructe per gwerram.

Griffid ab Rees, Wilim ab Yorverht, Henry ab Griffid, Cradouc ab Yorverht, Lewelin ab Yon, Tuder ab Rees, Res ab Eneir, Meuric ab Rees, Cradouc ab Gwither, Madouc Vochan, Yorverht ab Gronu, Howel ab Felip.

Endorsed "Extenta de Langwiht."

Roger Clifford is mentioned in the County Extent as holding half a knight's fee in Kenefic. Griffith ap Rees is not an uncommon combination, so that it is doubtful if the juror here was the same with him who held two cummods in Senghenyth.

EXTENTA DE NEHT.

Extenta de Neht per preceptum domini Regis facta per sacramentum Henrici Vochan, Madoc ab Rees, Lewelin ab Hailon, Cradouc ab Wasmeir, Cradouc ab Wrgan, Madanev ab Yorverht, Mauricii Molendinarii, Gilberti Cachevrench, Rees ab Ithenerht, Johannis le Wogare, Petri de Corndune, Ade Huse. Qui dicunt quod

De redditu burgensium et cotariorum . .	cxij^{s}	o^{d}	
Et de redditu libere tenencium forinsecorum .	xvj	o	
Et de redditu Walensium	xxxij	xj	ob.
Et de molendino.	xl	o	
Et dominicum parvum et debile valet . . .	xiij	x	
Et de xiij acris prati	vj	vj	
Et de prisis cervisie	v	o	
Et de tholoneo		xij	
Et de gurgite et piscaria	vj	viij	
Et de finibus et perquisitis curiarum . . .	xx	o	
Summa	xij^{li}	xiij^{s}	xj^{d} ob.

Et est advocacio ecclesie ibidem de Neht pertineus ad Comitem que

valet x marcas. Et molendinum supradictum tempore pacis solet valere ix marcas. Et vij^{xx} et x mansiones ibidem sunt combuste et destructe per gwerram.

Henricus Vochan, Madoc ab Rees, Lewelin ab Haylon, Cradoue ab Wasmeir, Cradoue ab Wrgan, Madanev ab Yorverht, Mauricius Molendinarius [nomen amissum] Rees ab Ithenerht, Johannes le Wogare [duo nomina amissa].

Endorsed "Extenta de Neht."

EXTENTE DE LANILTWIT ET LISWRINI.

Extenta facta de manerio de Laniltwit per preceptum domini Regis per sacramentum Johannis filii Willelmi, Petri filii Rogeri, Johelis filii Roberti filii Johannis, Willelmi Tosard, Ricardi Lacham, Hugonis Sygin, Sweyn Blancaignel, Willelmi Boys, Elie Basset, Petri de Veteri castro, et Willelmi Juel. Qui jurati dicunt

De redditu libere tenencium ejusdem manerii .	xj^{li}	viij^{s}	iiij^{d} quad.
Et de DLXV acris terre arabilis in dominico precium acre vj^{d} summa	xiv	ij	vj
Et de xiiij acris prati precium acre xviij^{d} summa .		xxj	o
Et de vij^{xx} et vij acris pasture precium acre iiij^{d} summa		xlix	o
Et de pastura grave que vocatur Coytlon . .		x	o
Et de j columbario		v	o
Et de gardino		v	o
Et de mercato cum nundinis		lx	o
Et de molendino	xvij	o	o
Et custumarii ejusdem manerii tenent MMC et xv acras precium reddituum et serviciorum eorundem .	lij	xviij	o
Et sunt vj homines in eodem manerio qui debent arare x acras terre domini [et] valet . .		iiij	ij
Et sunt ididem iiij^{xx} cotarii qui ad pastum domini debent metere per j diem in autumpno et valet		vj	viij
Et idem cotarii debent colligere xiv acras prati et valet			xiiij
Et predicti custumarii ad pastum domini debent faleare et colligere xviij acras et dimidiam prati domini apud Kerdif et valet		vj	ix
Et unus faber ejusdem manerii pro terra sua debet facere quinque paria ferramentorum carruce de proprio ferro domini et valet operacio ejus .		vij	vj
Et de placitis et perquisitis hundredi . . .		c	o
Summa	cix^{li}	v^{s}	j^{d} quad.

Et memorandum quod apud Cartmayloc computate in eodem manerio sunt duo carucate terre de quibus tempore pacis solet reddere lxvj^{s} x^{d} ob. per destruccionem gwerre modo nichil inde habetur.

Extenta de Liswrini per sacramentum predictorum. Qui jurati dicunt quod domina Agnes Bausson tenet terciam partem ejusdem ville in dotem.

Et de ij partibus que fuerunt in manu domini Comitis	iiij^{xx}	et ix acre	
terre arabilis in dominico precium acre vj^{d} summa	xliiij^{s}	vj^{d}	
Et de xxij acris prati precium acre ij^{s} summa . .	xliiij	o	
Et custumarii ejusdem ville tenent cccliij^{xx} et xvj acras et quartam partem unius acre terre precium redditus et serviciorum eorundem . . .	ix^{li}	xviij	j ob.
Et sunt iiij homines in eadem villa qui pro quadam terra reddunt		iij	iiij
Et est unus homo in eadem villa qui reddet j erannocam frumenti et valet		ij	o
Et de ij partibus molendini		xiij	iiij
Et de cotariis		iiij	o
Et memorandum quod homines ejusdem ville sunt sectatores hundredi de Langltwit			
Summa	xv^{li}	ix^{s}	iij^{d} ob.

[Sigilla] Johannes filius Willelmi
Petrus filius Rogeri
Ivel filius Robert
[Cetera desunt.]

Endorsed "Extente de Laniltwit et Liswrini."

Of the jurors Johel filius Roberti is probably the Ivel filius Roberti, and Elias Basset and William Juel the Basset and Juel or Ivel, who were also on the jury of the county.

These inquisitions, together with one for the whole county, though without date, appear to have been taken on the death of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford in 46 Hen. III. 1262, in order to ascertain what were the particulars of the earl's feudal rights over the lordship of Glamorgan, upon which the king's claim for reliefs and other feudal incidents was to be calculated. As the earl's son and successor was of full age, there was no question of custody of lands or wardship of the heir, but an ordinary case of succession only. The returns show the burgage rents, the assised or fixed rents, and those paid by free and rustic tenants, the latter being such as held by socage, with an obligation to perform agricultural services on the lord's land. The free tenants are sometimes within and sometimes outside the borough boundaries, being then called "Forinseci." The cotarii were mere cottagers. Among the dues are those from market tolls, fisheries, prisage of beer, receipts from fairs, perquisites from the lord's courts, rents from the demesne lands, arable, moor, or meadow, *operationes* or obligations to assist in getting in the lord's harvest or to repair his waggons, and, more valuable than all, dues to the lord's mills. These, in Cardiff, amounted to nearly one half of the whole receipt, in Llantrissent, much exposed to the inbreaks of the Welsh, only to $\frac{1}{23}$rd part, in Llangonydd to $\frac{1}{71}$th, in Neath to $\frac{1}{80}$th, and in Llantwit, far within the English boundary, to the same.

The reign of Henry III. was a period of frequent inbreaks of the Welsh, but still it is surprising to find that in Llantrissant, which however included Pentyrch and other villages, as many as 100 houses had been burnt, in Llangonydd 80 houses, and in Neath 150: and yet Neath appears to have been walled, and both it and Llantrissant were

defended by strong castles. In the hamlet of Garth-Maelog, two carucates of land, usually yielding £2. 6s. 10½d., were utterly waste.

The Public Records afford conflicting evidence as to whether the two ladies, heirs of Sir Stephen Bausson (better known as de Baiocis), were his daughters or those of his elder brother, the preceding baron. The Lysworney return settles this point. Agnes is well known to have been Sir Stephen's widow, and here it appears that she held her third as dower, and the earl, in the absence of heirs of Sir Stephen's body, took the other two-thirds. The two nieces were at that time of age, and married.

The names of the inquisitors show the prevalence of the Welsh in the border parishes only. In Cardiff all twelve are clearly English. In Llantwit the same. In Llantrissant, perched astride upon the hills, and, notwithstanding its castle, peculiarly exposed, all twelve are Welsh, as they are in Llangonydd. In Neath, though much exposed, the presence of the castle and abbey probably attracted strangers, for, of the twelve, seven only are decidedly Welsh, and five English. Here are some Welsh tenants, who do not elsewhere appear, save in Llantrissant. Adaaf ab Ivor pays 2ˢ for a sparrowhawk, probably involving a licence for fowling. The payment "ad lardarium" is probably for allowing the hogs to fatten or produce lard in the lord's woods, and answers to pannage, also mentioned, though why the two phrases should be used in the same schedule does not appear.

The inquisitions give the advowsons of Llantrissant, Pentirch, Llangonydd, and Neath, and omit those of Cardiff and Llantwit with Lysworney. Llantrissant, however, belonged to Tewkesbury Abbey from an early period, Pentirch was in the Dean and Canons of Llandaff, and Llangonydd in Margam. Neath seems always to have been in the lord of Glamorgan, and so descended. Llantwit, held with Lysworney, was in Tewkesbury.

It is curious that though the general return is called "Extenta comitatus," or of the county, no mention is ever made of the Earl, save as holding the two thirds of Lisworney, of which Agnes Bausson held one-third. Unfortunately the Earl's schedule in the Inquisitiones p.m., though very full as regards England, has only one Welsh entry, the manor of Marcross in Glamorgan, which in the county extent is not in the Earl, but in Thomas Howey of St. Donats, evidently held for the heir of Richard Butler. Hawey certainly held this by licence from the Earl, for in the Cal. Genealogicum, I. 107 this Richard is entered as having held Marcross manor as custos of Johanna la Butillere, who was daughter of William Pincerna, son of John le Butiler, which John was brother of Richard le Buttiler, whose heir and great niece was Johanna. But Johanna died under age, and the inheritance was claimed by the two sisters of her father William, and the one sister of her great uncle Richard, and pending this dispute the Earl held possession, and was so holding when he died.

According to Rees Meyrick the Pincerna family name was Halwey, and William Pincerna of Kelligarn, son of Simon de Halweia, married the daughter of Sir Philip de Marcross, and had Sampson de Halweia, who migrated into Somerset. It will probably turn out that this family was Hawey of Combe Hawey, County of Somerset, and of St. Donats, with whose heiress the Stradlings acquired those manors.

G. T. C.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute.

July 7th, 1871.

The Very Rev. Canon Rock, D.D., in the chair.

Mr. J. H. Parker gave a discourse on "Excavations in Rome during the winter 1870-71" (printed at p. 219 of this vol.). On this communication many remarks were made by the Chairman and Sir M. Digby Wyatt.

Mr. Bunnell Lewis, F.S.A., Professor of Latin in Queen's College, Cork, read some remarks on five cabinets, considered to be of Italian workmanship, in possession of Mr. Wickham Flower, and brought, through his kindness, for exhibition to the meeting. Three of them are of ebony, inlaid with ivory, and ornamented with allegorical figures, representing Truth, Justice, Charity, Temperance, and Innocence. Truth has the usual symbols, a mirror and a globe, in her hands; Justice carries a sword and a balance; Charity leads a child by the hand, and holds another in her arms; Temperance pours liquid in a thin stream into a *tazza;* Innocence stands before a column, and points to a lamb at her feet. One of these cabinets has, as a centre piece, a personification of Summer, with a wheaten garland on her head, a cornucopia and sickle in her hands. The drawers present hunting scenes.

The other two cabinets, Professor Lewis observed, are of wood, veneered with ivory. They were purchased by Mr. Flower from Madame Ehlers, of Dresden, by whom their history was thus stated. An ancestor of the Feinds family in that city married, whilst on his travels in Italy, a noble lady at Venice, to whom the cabinets were given as a wedding present, the smaller one of the two exhibited serving as a jewel-casket. The married pair went to Germany, where the Italian cabinets were much treasured; in 1524 they were brought to Dresden, and thence to Hamburgh. They had been an old family possession, as stated before the presentation as a nuptial gift; they subsequently descended as an heirloom, and were, as stated, in possession of the same family for 347 years, chiefly at Hamburgh, in the choice collection of the great-grandfather of M. Ehlers. In 1813, during the siege of that city, they were saved with difficulty, the country house where they were being burned by the French. They remained in possession of the family, and came by inheritance to the late owner, and at length, by purchase, to Mr. Flower.

The smaller cabinet, the Professor pointed out, is elegant in design, but inferior to the larger one in execution. The centre-piece represents Diana and Actæon; the drawers are decorated with paintings of subjects from Ovid's Metamorphoses; on the doors are to be seen Jonah escaping from the fish, and seated under the gourd—a mixture of sacred and profane subjects not uncommon at the period.

The larger ivory cabinet, Professor Lewis proceeds to say, deserves more careful notice; it measures 20 in. in height, by 15 in. in width. It is formed with columns and cornices of walnut wood; the figures are painted on copper plates richly gilt, landscapes having been previously etched on the plates. Around these paintings, at each of the corners, there is a disc of cornelian; the capitals of the columns, the hinges and key plates are gilt. The subjects, the highly finished details, and tasteful execution, considered in connection with the traditions of the Ehlers family, lead to the conclusion that this elegant cabinet is of Venetian work of the sixteenth century. Labarte, in the Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages, has stated that the Society of Painters at Venice reckoned among its members casket-makers, gilders, and varnishers. (English translation, p. 386.)

The Professor proceeded to describe in detail the subjects of the paintings on the smaller panels, being familiar scenes from Ovid's Metamorphoses:—1. Daphne changed into a Laurel. 2. Apollo shooting the serpent Python, here represented as a dragon, according to the type of mediæval art; these two subjects, it may be observed, are found together on a majolica plate in the British Museum. 3. Aglauros raising the lid of the chest in which Erichthonius had been concealed by Minerva. 4. Phaëton asking permission to drive the horses of the Sun. 5. Cadmus and the Dragon. 6. Apollo shooting Coronis. 7. Areas shooting Calisto. 8. Actæon changed into a stag; and 9. Mercury enamoured of Herse. It deserves notice that in the subject of Actæon the treatment is exactly the same as in the wood engravings in the "Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metamorphoses," by Germersheim, 1569; the same remark applies to other paintings on the cabinet.

On three larger panels, as described by Professor Lewis, the subjects are Dædalus and Icarus; Orpheus amid the wild beasts; and Perseus delivering Andromeda. There are six floral designs, amongst which may be seen the rose, the lily, and the forget-me-not; they are treated in a conventional manner, the most suitable for the purpose, for a too realistic style would rather suggest the idea of plucking a flower, than of decorating an article of domestic furniture.

The Chairman then drew attention to the forthcoming meeting of the Institute at Cardiff, and to the Congress upon Prehistoric Archæology to be held at Bologna in October next, and which had been postponed on account of the war last year.

Mr C. Roach Smith sent a short account of the discovery of some mediæval remains in the church of Carisbrook, Isle of Wight, of which further details will, it is hoped, be given.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Chairman, on behalf of Mr. James Karrick Riggs, of Washington, U.S.—A very rare and curious piece of neck ornamentation, wrought

in purest gold, weighing 8 ounces, and standing $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. In shape it is a human being down to the hips, wearing a helmet formed of an eagle's head, with open beak and well-ruffled crest. Each pinion of the feathered wings ends in a human hand, in the right one of which is held a halbert tasseled, and the left, covered by a small round shield, grasps three arrows. Held by a string just under the chin hangs a sort of breast-plate, and the abdomen of this man-eagle is very large, and jutting out so as to take the form of a bell, and from a long wide opening at the bottom and the presence of a small ball of metal, it must have been so used. From each end of this broad slit shoots out the leg of an eagle, the toes of which look as if each foot clutched a twig. In fact, when in its original state a dragon was here seen hanging to it, but that figure has been lost, and the present owner of this Mexican antiquity would receive with thanks any information of the actual possessor of the dragon. The hooked nose and the large mouth, showing its teeth, are quite like those features to be seen on all art-works from old Mexico of the human face, and on this, though seemingly of a man, there are ear-rings in his ears.

By Mr. H. V. Tebbs.—A Missal of about A.D. 1400, principally according to the Sarum use. It was written apparently either by a chantry priest for his personal service during a part of the year at a private altar, or by a priest having to officiate at some distance from his abode, and who may have divided his missal into three volumes for convenience of carriage. Mr. Tebbs read notes particularising the "offices" and services contained in the volume, and made comments upon the special circumstances, if any, relating to them. A calendar contained in the volume has on its margin numerous entries of the births, deaths, and marriages of members of the "Dauntesey" and "Mervyn" families, which may perhaps give a clue to the history of the book. The volume is in its original oak boards covered with parchment, and is perfect with the exception of two or four leaves which have dropped out. The services generally follow the Sarum use, but there are several variations, and sometimes the uses of Hereford and Bangor are followed. In other points it is peculiar to itself. Mr. Tebbs concluded his notes with a critical examination of examples of somewhat similar works, and of their comparative rarity, &c.

By Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum.—A small collection of early Christian finger rings of gold, silver, and bronze. This was in continuation of the series upon which a memoir was given at p. 137 of vol. xxvi., and which is followed up by that at p. 266 of the present volume.

By Mr. Wickham Flower.—Two cabinets of ivory and three of ebony of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

By Mr. Nash.—A set of goldsmith's touch needles, Italian.

By Mr. J. G. Nichols.—A volume of drawings of inscriptions taken by a Swiss artist from the columns of the chapel at Bethlehem and elsewhere in the Holy Land, said to be records of the knightly pilgrims who visited the shrines. The volume belongs to Mr. Helsby, of Manchester.

By Mr. J. Parker.—Iron clamps from the wall of Servius Tullius at Rome. Drawings, sketches, photographs, and plans illustrating recent archaeological researches in Rome.

By Miss Farrington.—A photograph of a portrait of Simon Lord Lovat, by Hogarth. The original was in the temporary museum formed

at Lancaster Meeting of the Institute, and is mentioned at p. 350 of vol. xxv.

By Sir Jervoise Clark Jervoise.—Two Roman brass coins found at Carhaix, Brittany, of a late type. These were specimens of a considerable number lately acquired on very reasonable terms, the greater part of which were very indistinct, and many were covered with a *patina* not usual on undoubted examples.

ANNUAL MEETING AT CARDIFF, 1871.

July 25 to August 1.

This was the first meeting of the Institute within the principality of Wales, and was eminently successful. The inaugural meeting commenced on Tuesday, July 25, when Lord Talbot de Malahide, President of the Institute, entered the Nisi Prius Court of the Town Hall at half-past twelve, accompanied by the Marquis of Bute, the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart., Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P. and V.P., Mr. G. T. Clark, and other members of the Council of the Institute. The attendance of members of the Institute and of visitors was very considerable. The chair having been taken by the President of the Institute, the Mayor of Cardiff called upon the Town Clerk to read the Address voted by the Corporation. The Town Clerk (Mr. Salmon) then read as follows :

To the President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Cardiff beg to offer you our sincere and hearty welcome.

Surrounded as this borough is with the evidences of the various races which have held sway within the district, and with remains most interesting to the archæologist, we earnestly hope that the members of the Institute will feel that their visit will not have been without profit and gratification.

In welcoming amongst us the members of the Institute, we cannot forbear expressing the additional pleasure that has been afforded to us by the Institute having selected as the President of this meeting one towards whom this ancient borough feels a deep debt of gratitude as the representative of a long and distinguished line of ancestors.

We also beg to express our sense of the honour conferred on this borough in being selected as the place of holding the first meeting of the Institute within the principality, and our earnest desire is that when the time of separation shall arrive the members of the Institute may carry away with them the recollection of a successful and agreeable meeting.

Given under our Common Seal this 25th day of July, 1871.

Lord Talbot de Malahide expressed the great pleasure with which he received the Address which had been read. He considered such addresses the most flattering testimonials of the Institute, as the corporate bodies of the country had been of immense value to the com-

munity at large. Having introduced the Marquis of Bute as president of the meeting, his lordship resigned the chair.

The Marquis of Bute then took the chair, and was very warmly received. After some prefatory remarks expressive of his diffidence in occupying that position, his lordship spoke of the pleasure with which the principality welcomed the visit of the Institute, and then delivered an address in which he gave a sketch of the history of Cardiff and the surrounding district (printed at p. 257 of this volume).

Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart., congratulated the Institute on the meeting having for its president a nobleman so well acquainted with the archæological lore of the district, and who had so well succeeded in directing attention to the subjects that would be brought before them.

The Lord Bishop of Llandaff, on his own behalf and that of the clergy of the diocese, begged leave to say that they entirely sympathised with the welcome to the Institute which had been presented by the Mayor and Corporation of the town, and spoke with emphasis of the change which had been effected in regard to the relation of the clergy to the laity, which was so different in mediæval times, when the clergy were the exclusive depositaries of the learning and knowledge of the times in which they lived. Among the agencies for the cultivation of the intellect, archæological studies took a high place. Therefore it was that they welcomed the members of the Institute amongst them.

The Venerable Archdeacon Blosse supported the welcome which had been extended towards the members of the Institute by the Bishop of the diocese. He looked forward to their visit as full of promise to those who took an interest in the conservation of things of past times.

Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P. and V.P., rose and said that on behalf of the Council of the Institute he wished to express his warm and grateful thanks for the enthusiastic manner in which they had been received in the borough of Cardiff. In the many places which they had visited they had always met with good feeling, but never in a more gratifying way than on the present occasion. He thanked them heartily, and hoped the meeting would be enjoyable, as well as instructive to all.

Major Vaughan H. Lee, High Sheriff of Glamorganshire, on behalf of the gentlemen of the county, welcomed the Institute amongst them, and trusted they would not regret the choice of their present place of meeting. Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., having briefly thanked the High Sheriff for his expression of welcome, Mr. Burtt announced the arrangements for the day, and the meeting adjourned.

At half-past two a *déjeûner*, on a very handsome scale, was given by the Mayor in the Drill Hall, which was handsomely decorated for the occasion. The guests were considerably increased by private friends invited by his worship, and were upwards of four hundred in number. The usual loyal and local toasts were drunk, and in reply to that of the "President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute," the Marquis of Bute returned thanks, and concluded by proposing the toast of "The Mayor and Corporation of Cardiff." This having been acknowledged by the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Watkins proposed the health of "The Strangers," coupling therewith the name of Sir Bartle Frere, to whom he paid a high compliment as a distinguished traveller, and as one who had rendered great service to the Crown when occupying a post of great responsibility in our Eastern Empire, and who was accompanied by his accomplished

daughter, the authoress of a work upon India. Sir Bartle Frere appropriately acknowledged the compliment, and concluded by proposing "The Ladies." At the request of the Mayor, Mr. Jones returned thanks, and the party then broke up.

At about five o'clock the members of the Institute and their friends repaired to the grounds of Cardiff Castle, where a graphic historical account of the structure was given by Mr. G. T. Clark. His address was concluded by an allusion to the fact that on the spot which Mr. Clark then occupied John Wesley had addressed enormous crowds of Welshmen, and had given an impetus to that religious movement which had since been so extended. Mr. Parker afterwards conducted many of the party over the earlier portions of the Castle.

In the evening the Marquis of Bute held a reception at the castle, which was attended by a large number of the principal families of the town and county, as well as by the visitors to the meeting.

Wednesday, July 26.

The Historical Section was appointed to assemble in the Nisi Prius Court at 10 a.m. But this court was occupied by the Judge of the County Court, and after a short delay arrangements were made to use the large room of the Royal Hotel for the purposes of the Section, E. A. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L., President of the Section, in the chair. The proceedings commenced by the Hon. Secretary (in the absence of the writer) reading a memoir entitled "The Conquest of South Wales," by Mr. W. Floyd (printed at p. 302 of this volume).

The Rev. W. J. Loftie then read some notes "On the Lords of Cardiff," commenting chiefly on their alliances and heraldic insignia. Mr. Clark, Mr. Tregellas, and others entered into a discussion upon some of the statements of the writer.

The President of the Section then delivered his Address (printed at p. 177 of this volume).

Lord Talbot de Malahide expressed the gratification of the members to the President of the Historical Section, for his very able and comprehensive address. He had gone over a wide field and had thrown much vividness into his descriptions. The caution which had been addressed to them as to the way in which they should carry out their inquiries would doubtless have its due weight, and his lordship was disposed to extend the application of some of the points touched upon by connecting the history of South Wales with the conquest of Ireland—a connection to which the names of places and persons clearly pointed. He tendered the best thanks of the meeting to the President of the Section for his eloquent and powerful address.

The members of the Institute, who had been courteously invited to luncheon at Bishop's Court by the Bishop of Llandaff, then started for that place, where they were most hospitably entertained. They were followed, at a short interval, by the visitors, and soon after three o'clock all assembled at the south-west angle of the cathedral, to hear Mr Freeman's description of the structure. Here the lecturer began his discourse upon the fabric, and after pointing out its general features, comparing it with similar structures, and touching upon the great changes it had undergone, the party passed on to the front of the

western entrance, where Mr. Freeman critically discussed several points in the restoration of the building.

The cathedral was then entered, and at about the centre of the nave Mr. Freeman resumed his discourse. Here they had an example of what an English cathedral could be, and what such buildings might be made under the direction of common sense. He regretted much that the ancient reredos had been removed and something substituted for it very like one of the tombs in Westminster Abbey. He thought the loss of the old reredos was one of the faults of the restoration. Mr. Prichard, the diocesan architect, here interposed, and stated that the old reredos was too mutilated to be restored, that it would have extended across the whole presbytery, and covered the outer jambs of the beautiful Norman arch, and that no funds were available for the restoration. Advancing to the altar-screen Mr. Freeman gave a technical description of that part of the building which was believed to have been erected by Bishop Urban. Passing on to the Lady Chapel, and indicating its chief points of interest, the lecturer expatiated on the happy circumstance of there having been three Deans in succession who had shown great zeal in restoring the cathedral from the scandalous condition into which it had fallen. The Chapter House was next visited, and Mr. Freeman's discourse concluded by his description of the constitution of the establishment.

The company then strolled to the Deanery, and availed themselves of the pleasant and hearty hospitality offered by the Very Reverend the Dean of Llandaff.

In the evening a public dinner took place at the Cardiff Arms Hotel, where a considerable company assembled under the presidency of the Marquis of Bute. The toast of the evening—"Success to the Royal Archæological Institute"—was warmly given by the noble chairman, in an amusing speech, and cordially responded to by the President of the Institute, Lord Talbot de Malahide.

Thursday, July 27.

At nine o'clock A.M. the general meeting of members of the Institute was held in the grand jury-room of the Town Hall, Charles Tucker, Esq., F.S.A., and *Hon. Sec.*, in the chair. Mr. Burtt, *Hon. Sec.*, read the balance-sheet for the year 1870 (see p. 236), and the Annual Report for the past year, as follows :—

Report of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute for the year 1870.

Your Committee are enabled to present their Annual Report with feelings of considerable satisfaction. The Journal of the Institute bears good evidence that the high character of the contributions presented to the consideration and study of the members of the Institute has been well maintained. A very interesting circumstance has occurred in relation to the Archæology of Ireland since the date of the last report of your Committee—it is that of the discovery of an object of bronze, with a Runic inscription, brought to light by Gen. Lefroy, Vice-President of the Institute, whose appointment to the governorship of Bermuda has removed him for the present from the position he so ably filled upon your Committee, and deprived the Institute of his valuable services in

this country. To the memoir contributed upon that discovery to the pages of the Journal your Committee would advert with feelings of great gratification for the high scientific knowledge which it displays, and its careful and elaborate illustration of the subject with which it deals. That memoir has also another feature of great and pleasant interest—that of the fact of cordial union in archæological researches presented by the friendly co-operation of Archæologists in the north of Europe in assisting our late Vice-President in his investigations.

The Journal of last year also presents additional evidences of the unwearied researches carried on with patient labour and skill by the Hon. Mr. Owen Stanley in Anglesey. The investigations of that gentleman have now been continued for the space of nearly ten years, and your Committee wish to acknowledge his great generosity in placing the record of his discoveries before the archæological world in the pages of the Journal of the Institute, and his handsome liberality in the presentation of the numerous woodcuts with which they are illustrated free of cost to the Institute. The example presented by the labours of Mr. Stanley is one that might be commended to the consideration of owners of landed estates upon which lie some of our neglected historical monuments.

The Annual Meeting held last year in Leicester was marked by a gratifying incident in relation to the prosecution of the science of Archæology. On that occasion your Committee were favoured with the highly valued assistance of the Rev. Mr. Joyce, in the illustration of the very important Roman antiquities remaining in Ratæ. Mr. Joyce's long-continued and ably-arranged excavations on the site of Silchester, in Hampshire, have long been known and appreciated, and it is with feelings of great satisfaction and pleasure that your Committee advert to his cordial co-operation with the Institute upon another sphere of action.

The financial affairs of the Institute demand a few words on the part of your Committee. While the balance-sheet for 1870 shows a much smaller amount of receipts under the head of annual subscriptions than that presented last year, your Committee has the satisfaction in reporting that the diminution is owing to various causes which raised that item in the year 1869, and to no falling off in the number of their friends and supporters. In the face of the fact of the Leicester meeting producing but *one* additional member, your Committee consider this to be a very encouraging circumstance.

Your Committee now subjoin the following short obituary notices of the members of the Institute who have been removed from them during the past year:—

The Ven. Archdeacon Hale, long foremost amongst our heartiest friends from the earliest establishment of the society in 1845; member of the Central Committee, &c.

Edward Foss, historian of the judges of England, an antiquary of many merits, and the highest accuracy of research. He served for some time on the Central Committee, and often aided our annual meetings.

The Rev. Master of University College, Dr. Plumptre, a very warm friend; member of the Committee. He greatly promoted the meeting held at Oxford, and was an excellent friend on many other occasions.

Philip Hardwick, the tasteful architect and academician; many years a very valuable auxiliary.

Monsignore Eyre.

Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart. He cordially promoted our prosperous meeting at Shrewsbury.

Rev. John Hailstone, hearty in rendering general assistance and in his hospitality at the Cambridge meeting.

Our venerable and excellent friend Mr. Yates, of Highgate.

Mr. Harrod, the able Archæologist, to whom the great success and satisfaction of our Norwich meeting was mainly due. He was long secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, under the favourable auspices of our lamented friend Sir John Boileau.

Also Mr. R. G. P. Minty, whose varied exertions in the field of East Anglian antiquities have been of the highest value and interest.

Bolton Corney, a gentleman of great literary attainments, and a cordial friend of the Institute.

Ralph Sneyd, of Keele, Staffordshire, a most tasteful and discerning judge in all that relates to the progress of the arts in this country, and to the cultivation of literature.

G. Durnford Greenway, of Warwick. He was a cordial supporter of the pleasant and successful meeting held in his native town.

W. E. Walmisley.

Rev. H. Longueville Jones, the founder of the Cambrian Archæological Society; for many years a good auxiliary to the Institute, and contributor of memoirs to our Journal.

Mr. W. Sidney Gibson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a zealous north country topographer and historian; very useful at the meeting in Newcastle.

Robert Chambers, the Nestor of antiquarian and topographical researches in North Britain; a name to be remembered with all honour in connection with literature and the encouragement of science; a most hearty and valuable promoter of our Edinburgh meeting.

Thomas Willement, the skilful and accomplished artist in glass; an early promoter of all things connected with our efforts in regard to various branches of mediæval art in England, and the researches that relate to heraldic inquiries; a valued auxiliary from the earliest establishment of the Institute.

Mr. H. F. Holt, of Clapham, a contributor of valuable objects for exhibition at the meetings of the Institute.

Your Committee beg leave to conclude by presenting the following list of members of the Institute retiring from the administration in ordinary course, and the recommendation of names to fill the vacancies :—

To Retire.	*To Succeed.*
One Vice-President.	*Vice-President.*
General Lefroy.	Mr. G. T. Clark.
Six Members of Council.	*Council.*
Mr. G. T. Clark.	Rev. J. F. Russell.
Rev. R. P. Coates.	Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart.
Mr. J. D. Gardner.	Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart.
Mr. J. Stephens.	Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton.
Mr. C. Knight Watson.	Mr. R. R. Holmes, *H. M. Librarian.*
Col. Lane Fox	Mr. T. Roger Smith.
Auditor.	*Auditor.*
Rev. J. F. Russell.	R. H. Soden Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

Col. Brooke moved the adoption of the report and balance-sheet, which was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Lee, and carried unanimously.

The settlement of the place of meeting for 1872 was then considered. Mr. Burtt read an invitation from the Corporation of Southampton, and stated that letters of encouragement to meet at Exeter, Glasgow, and Leeds had been received. It was then moved by Mr. Fairless Barber, seconded by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, and carried unanimously, that the decision of the place of meeting be referred to the Council in London.

The Rev. W. Dyke drew attention to the general index to the first twenty volumes of the Journal, which had been taken in hand by several members of the Institute. He thought it would be well to know what prospect there was of the index being printed when the work was done, and what were the views of the Council on the matter.

The Rev. J. Lee Warner added some remarks upon the mode of combining the labours of the different workers upon the index.

Mr. Burtt assured those gentlemen who had so kindly undertaken the task of the general index that the Council had a grateful appreciation of their labours, but there certainly was a difficulty as to the printing. The work would probably make a volume as large as four numbers of the Journal, and it could not appear instead of that publication, to which subscribers were entitled, and who might fairly object to being supplied only with an index. He thought a separate subscription for an independent work must be resorted to.

The Rev. W. Dyke then moved that the Council be desired to take steps for obtaining a special subscription to print the general index as a separate work, at a price not to exceed one guinea. This was seconded by Fairless Barber, Esq., and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman, the meeting was dissolved. Many names of subscribers to the general index were afterwards given to the Secretary, who will gladly receive additions to the list.

At 10 o'clock a meeting of the Architectural Section was held in the large room of the Royal Hotel, Lord Talbot de Malahide in the chair. The Rev. W. Evans contributed a memoir on "Caerphilly Castle," which was read by the Honorary Secretary. The Mayor of Cardiff then read a short paper, founded upon a diary of the movements of King Charles I., when he visited Cardiff Castle in 1645, and which concluded with the copy of an original letter from the King to the Marquis of Ormond, dated 31st July, 1645. After some remarks upon the subjects brought forward, and a vote of thanks to the contributors, the meeting was adjourned.

At about 1.30 p.m. the members and visitors mustered in great numbers at the Rhymney Railway Station, for conveyance to Caerphilly Castle. To the same point of attraction many found their way by road, and all made their way into the Castle precinct.

Here they were received most courteously by Lord Bute and his staff of assistants, and after spending an hour or so very pleasantly in viewing the ruins and looking at the results of the recent excavation, they were summoned to the banquet, and entered by the door of the hall from the inner ward. As the hall, though of unusual dimensions, would not conveniently hold all who were present, it was arranged that they should be divided into two parties and feast in succession, under the presidencies

of the Marquis of Bute and of Colonel Crichton Stuart, Lord Bute's nearest kinsman, and member for Cardiff.

These arrangements were well devised and steadily carried out, and thus there was no crowding. It is unnecessary to say that the entertainment was an excellent one, and the wines of the best.

The hall presented a very picturesque spectacle. It was floored, and a plain but solid and permanent roof protected the interior from the weather. Four large though broken window openings lighted it on one side, and between the centre pair yawned the grand old fire-place, also much broken. At the lower or entrance end, openings led into the ancient cellars and chapel, and in the castle wall, which formed another side, opened the passages to the kitchen and the water-gate. A dais crossed the upper end of the hall, and carried the high table, and the chair of the President, a curious piece of antiquity saved by the late Mr. Evans from the old house of the Van, hard by. Three long tables occupied the body of the hall, and a small door near the President admitted the attendants and communicated with the old withdrawing room, used on this occasion as a temporary kitchen. When the second party of diners had finished, Lord Bute again took the chair. The outsiders came in, all closed up, and the spacious hall was entirely filled, either by sitters or those standing up. Probably five hundred were then present.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. CLARK, who ascended a sort of rostrum behind his seat at the upper end of the hall, and spoke as follows :—

"My LORD of CAERPHILLY, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very probably 545 years ago since an assembly at all approaching to that I see before me has been collected for festive purposes in this spacious hall (loud cheers). In the year 1326 the then Lord of Caerphilly, Hugh le Despenser the younger, here received his sovereign, King Edward II., then in his flight from his Queen and the Prince, his son. Despenser had acquired this castle and the lordship of Morgannwg by marriage with a sister and co-heir of the last de Clare, who closed the male line of that ancient race upon the field of Bannockburn. He was a very wealthy and powerful noble, and he well knew that upon his resistance here depended his own life and power as well as that of his sovereign. He therefore had made great preparations for the defence. He had already enlarged the castle, rebuilt this hall in which we now are, and much strengthened the military defences of the place.

"What force the Queen and Prince brought against the castle is not known, but only a few years before, when the barons rose against Despenser, they marched from Newport with 800 men-at-arms, 500 archers, and 10,000 foot, and we may suppose that the present gathering would certainly not be inferior. That the King was here is certain, for from this place are dated certain mandates tested by him in person, 'teste me ipso,' printed in the 'writs,' and preserved in the records of the realm. That a large force and a great quantity of provisions were at his disposal is certain, but here also the precise figures have not been preserved. That the force was very considerable indeed is certain from the vast extent of the *enceinte*, which, though strong, required a very great garrison to guard and hold it, as it was held. As to provisions, there is on record a schedule of the personal property of a near descendant of this Hugh, which will serve to show what were the means, in victual, at the

disposal of a great baron of that day. There were found at his attainder 25,000 sheep, 1,000 oxen and steers, 1,200 kine with calves, 40 mares, with colts, 160 draught horses, 202,000 hogs, 3,000 bullocks, 40 tuns of wine, 6,000 bacon hogs, 80 carcases of Martinmas beef, 600 carcases of sheep in his larder, 10 tons of cider, armour, plate, jewels, £10,000 of ready money, 36 sacks of wool, and what is worth noticing, a library of books. A prodigious store indeed, exceeding no doubt in quantity, though scarcely to be compared in quality, with the plentiful and excellent fare set before us this day by our hospitable host.

"It is difficult to transport ourselves back into the past, and to conjure up by an effort of the imagination the brilliant sight that Caerphilly must have presented at the time of the King's visit, when the walls were beleaguered by a force without and defended by a well-equipped garrison within. Feudal warfare was far more picturesque than that of modern times, and personal qualities and distinctions entered far more deeply into its composition. There was the emblazonry on the shield and banner, the ring and glitter of armour, combined with the voices of the leaders and the shouts of the soldiery. And the constitution of such an army was very favourable to the doing and witnessing acts of individual valour. I don't mean that the men of that day carried hearts more true or arms more strong than their descendants now do. None can say that the British soldier has degenerated, but the description of weapon and the imperfect discipline then employed, rendered each soldier less of a machine, and less dependent upon his combination with others than he now is. If there was less strategy, less room for those higher qualities which distinguish modern generals, there was far more scope for personal prowess. Each man, from the leader down to the lowest varlet, was in direct dependence upon some feudal superior to whom he paid personal homage, and to whom therefore he was personally known. The armies of those periods were composed of companies of men drawn together from their own villages, who had known one another from childhood, who had tried their strength with each other in their local meetings and wappenshaws, who supported one another shoulder to shoulder, and were sure to follow where their chief, also their landlord, led the way. They fought under each other's eye, and well knew that every bold stroke and every daring deed would be reported to the maids and mothers of merry England at home. None could do less than his best under such a system, and without in any way depreciating the uses of the modern rifle, all must allow that there was far more of manliness in the handling of the English bow. We can all understand the feeling which led Cœur de Lion to curse the arblast, the weapon by which he afterwards fell, a weapon of which a child might pull the trigger, while to draw a cloth yard shaft to the ear required a man, and an Englishman.

"Where was the man, with the heart of a man within him, who would have turned his back upon so gallant an army. But the miserable King had no taste for the war he had provoked. The army was mustered, the trumpets had sounded, the bows were bent, the lances were in rest, but the king was wanting. The army chafed to be led to battle, but the King had retired by the postern. And yet that king was a Plantagenet. He was the sire and the son of great men. From him sprung the great monarch who led the English in triumph over the fields of France, during whose reign Crecy and Poitiers became household words, as they, and Agin-

court after them, have since remained. But the King was not only the sire of Edward III., but he was the son of a far, far greater man; not merely the greatest man of the great race of Plantagenet, but the greatest statesman and warrior who ever filled the English throne, a monarch whose heart burned with one engrossing devouring ambition—who though not cruel, was stern and severe in carrying out that ambition, because he knew that what he strove to do was for the weal of that country which God had called him to govern; who was ambitious only that his empire should be consolidated, and who was determined, as far as in him lay, to weld into one compact mass the various provinces and kingdoms into which Britain was then divided. Unhappily the qualities which shone in the father were wanting in the son; like the waters of the river of antiquity they flowed unseen beneath the intermediate stage. The King fled, and in the history of Caerphilly he appears no more. The Castle was left to be defended by the son of the younger Despenser, and by John de Felton, probably the father or uncle of the hero in the campaign of Najara, of one of the most brilliant exploits recorded by Froissart. How long he stood out we do not know, but we do know that he made such terms as saved not only the lives of his soldiers and his own, but also of the youngest Despenser, who shortly afterwards received a pardon from foes not too much disposed to be merciful. But the house of Despenser fell with Caerphilly, and for four generations, though at times possessed of this lordship, they were never in a position again to occupy it. The last of the race, Thomas, recovered the earldom of Gloucester, but he held it but a few months, being put to death by the populace of Bristol early in the reign of Henry IV. The estates passed with his heiress, Isabel, to the Beauchamps, Earls of Worcester and of Warwick, from them to the Nevilles, and to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and, after Bosworth, the Lordship of Glamorgan was granted by the Crown to Jasper Tudor. In the time of Henry VI., Caerphilly had fallen so low as to be the prison of the district, and Lord Bute has papers showing the names of the prisoners. This seems also to have been its condition when Leland was here in the reign of Henry VIII. Thus adversity and prosperity were alike fatal to Caerphilly. Under the later Despensers it was necessarily neglected, and the Beauchamps were far too much attached to Hanley Castle, girt with the rich meads of the Severn and to the lordly towers of Warwick, to care for the gloomy and barren grandeur of Caerphilly. Thus it appears to me probable that from the visit of Edward II. to the present day this Castle hall has not witnessed a sight like that now before us. And now, before I proceed to the topography of the fortress, let me say a word upon the reception of the Institute in this district. When, a year ago, at Leicester, I was asked whether, if the Institute came to Cardiff its members would be well received, I replied that that depended upon two things. I said there were two persons in Cardiff concerned in the matter, one the representative of the Lords of Morgannwg, and the other the representative of the citizens of Cardiff. 'If you have,' I continued, 'a cordial invitation from the Mayor and Corporation, and if Lord Bute agrees to take the chair of the Institute, I think I can predict for you such a meeting as you have seldom, if ever, received. In that little room at Leicester such was the answer I ventured to make to Lord Talbot. For some time past I have felt a great weight upon my shoulders. That weight is now more than re-

moved, for my most sanguine hopes never led me to expect such a day, such a sight as this. We have had many presidents, many excellent presidents, but none I am sure who united in themselves the personal and intrinsic qualities of the President of this meeting. For we can never expect to find a president who shall, to his personal qualities, add the possession of an ancestral castle of such magnitude as Caerphilly, or who possesses the means and the will to afford us so generous a welcome. Long as the Institute may last, and long may that period be, we can never hope to be received under circumstances so favourable as the present, can never hope to find a nobleman who will be in possession of, and will fit up for our use, such a hall as you see about you, which contains within its walls the fairest of the fair sex, which shelters here that beauty for which the county of Glamorgan is famous.

"And now a word as to why Caerphilly is placed where it is. The Norman invaders, marching from Gloucester along the coast, and descending from Shrewsbury along the lower inland valleys, obtained possession of that strip of comparatively level land which intervenes, in this county, between the mountains and the sea. Here they and their followers placed a castle upon almost every manor in the district, but nevertheless, although Llantrissant commanded one important pass, they were in perpetual danger from the wild Welsh of the hills along the north. The Welsh held more or less the great triangle of which Merthyr is the point, and the Rhymney and the Neath form the two sides. To protect the plain from these quarters, the Norman lords constructed Castel Coch and the tower of Whitchurch, to command the pass of the Taff, Caerphilly to protect the lower course of the Rhymney, and finally, at the point of the triangle, the hill Castle of Morlais, and thus proposed both to check the advance of the Welsh, and afterwards to cut off their retreat. A bard, with far more than bardic licence, has imagined his countrymen assembled within the old camp of Morgraig, on the hill above us, looking down with vengeful eye upon the pastures 'rent by the Saxon from the Gael,' during the storm which is said to have swept away St. Mary's Church with its burial-ground into the Severn, and under cover of which the Welsh are said to have attacked Cardiff."

Mr. Clark then proceeded, by the aid of a gigantic map and a bird's-eye view of the restored fortress, from the pencil of Mr. Brigden, to explain the topography of the castle. He pointed out that a natural tongue of land had been cut across in two places, so as to isolate the part now occupied by the centre of the fortress, that this island was scarped and revetted with masonry, and defended by bastions and a parapet. Within this was placed the inner ward, contained by a rectangular curtain and four drum towers at the angles. At each end was a noble gate-house, and along one side were the hall, chapel, and other buildings for the use of the lord. Outside this, in the middle ward, were the kitchen and offices, and a water-tank. The whole stood in an extensive lake, like Kenilworth, formed by damming up the Nant-yglodyr on its way to the Rhymney. The dam was part of a long platform defended with curtains, towers, a cross wall, a grand gate-house, and a postern on each flank, presenting a front of unrivalled grandeur, and worthy to be named with Coucy, Pierrefonds, Warwick, or Carcassonne, or any of the grander examples of an ancient fortress. The rear

of the castle was covered by a large horn-work, also surrounded by water, and on either side were parapet walls and other defences beyond the lake. It was a fine example of a castle which 40 years ago Mr. Clark had called Edwardian or concentric, much resembling Harlech, though much larger, and having much of its detail analogous to Beaumaris and the castles of Edward I. Caerphilly was built in the last year of Edward I., but the ornamental parts are of later date, and no doubt the work of Despenser in the reign of Edward II.

"I have thus," Mr. Clark continued, "endeavoured to describe to you a castle, the area of which is said to be, after Windsor, the largest in Britain. It is not only an ancient, but it is, in a military point of view, a very curious castle, and what adds to its interest is that we know its exact date. It is true that it has not been honoured by the occurrence of any great event, its story has not been fully recorded by any historian, neither has it been celebrated in song by any bard. Nevertheless, its rude and barren magnificence invests it with a grandeur approaching to sublimity. It is not bosomed in tufted trees, there is but little ivy upon its walls, its towers, displaced by gunpowder during the Commonwealth, are tottering to their fall, but the ruin is noble and majestic. You may people it with the creatures of the imagination, and figure to yourself its battlements alive with warriors, but of its actual history but little is recorded. All you know is that it has had its brief day of splendour, and is now barren and deserted." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Clark then gave the health of the President, with all the honours.

The party then broke up, some of them continuing their explorations of the ruins under the guidance of Mr. Octavius Morgan, and thus ended a day which will long be remembered in the annals of the Institute and by the inhabitants of the district.

At 9 p.m. a *conversazione* was held in the temporary museum in the assembly room of the Town Hall, and was numerously attended. In the course of the evening Mr. J. P. Seddon drew attention to a drawing of a remarkable rood screen in Llangwm church, and described the manner in which he had been enabled to complete that drawing, chiefly from fragments of the screen in various places.

Friday, July 28.

This was the day for the excursion to Caldicott, Caerwent, and Chepstow. The party was numerous, and the day fine, after a somewhat threatening morning. Starting from Cardiff at 10 a.m. by the Great Western railway the party proceeded to Portskewett station, where carriages awaited them. Having reached Caldicott Castle, Mr. Seddon kindly undertook the task of conducting the party over the ruins, Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., the expected *cicerone* of the day being absent (as it was afterwards known) on account of illness.[1] The route was then resumed to Caerwent, through a very picturesque country. At Caerwent the party were upon the well-known site of a Roman city, which had been well explored some years ago. Since that time the

[1] See "Notes on the Architecture and History of Caldicot Castle, 1854," 8vo., by O. Morgan and Thomas Wakeman. Publications of the Caerleon Society.

remains have become somewhat overgrown by vegetation, and the indications of the various points of interest were rather confused. Passing on to Chepstow, the large party found a substantial luncheon provided at the Beaufort Arms; and then the fine Castle, which afforded many points for discussion, and the town walls and gates were visited, Mr. Seddon continuing his good offices as guide. Mr. Bloxam also kindly contributed some valuable remarks on several of the debateable subjects which occurred during the perambulation. Many of the party returned to Cardiff by the appointed train; but a considerable number availed themselves of the opportunity offered for visiting the noble ruins of Tintern, and enjoying the lovely scenery of the Wye between that place and Chepstow.

Saturday, July 29.

At 10 A.M. a train started from the South Wales Station for the excursion to St. Donat's, Ewenny, &c. The weather was not very favourable, although it improved in the course of the day, and the afternoon was very fine. From Llantrissant a special train conveyed the party to Cowbridge, where carriages were in waiting to carry them on, time not allowing for any examination of the interesting objects there. After passing through a fertile country, the descent from the high land to the valley in which Beaupré is situated was made through a long, narrow, and rugged lane, in which the long procession of vehicles taxed the care and patience of their conductors, and somewhat curtailed the time at the disposal of the party for examining the interesting mansion of the Bassets. This is a house of the Elizabethan period, of which it is a very good example, built on the site of a house of the fourteenth century, of which there are a few remains. Here Mr. Parker discoursed upon the special features of the building, to the consideration of these, however, scarce sufficient time could be given. The road to Llantwit was then taken, and that place was almost reached, when a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by high wind and pouring rain, burst upon the party. Luckily the doubtful character of the morning had ensured some precautions being taken against bad weather. But the appearance of the little town, which had intended to have assumed quite a joyous aspect as a welcome to the Institute, was sadly marred by the down-pour of rain, which spoiled the effect of the banners and triumphal arches. The town-hall of Llantwit Major, in which few of its ancient characteristics are discernible, and which also serves as a school room, had on this day to do duty as the luncheon hall of the Institute, and here a welcome repast awaited the party after their rough battle with the elements. During this interval the weather cleared up, and on resuming their proceedings the sun shone out, and the remainder of the day was as beautiful as could be wished. The party proceeded to the churchyard, where Mr. Freeman and Mr. Parker discoursed about the very curious and remarkable church, which has excited much speculation among archæologists, and which had been a monastic as well as a parochial building. Mr. Bloxam also made some interesting comments upon the monuments and sculptured stones in and about the church, some of which are specially interesting.

Again *en route*, St. Donat's Castle, the seat of Dr. Carne, was next

reached, by a road which afforded an excellent view of the Bristol Channel. It is in a charming position, and forms a most picturesque object in the landscape. After a most hospitable entertainment by the owner, the many points of archæological interest in the structure were duly descanted upon by Mr. Parker, to which Mr. Clark made some additions, especially in regard to the history of the building and its owners. Many of the party leisurely strolled over the grounds and portions of the old castle, while others examined the picturesque little church in the dell, on the west side of the castle. Again wending their way, but somewhat too rapidly, through a charming country, the journey was continued to Ewenny Priory. This is a remarkable specimen of combined conventual and parochial buildings under one roof, upon which Mr. Freeman gave an able discourse. The courteous hospitality of the owner, Major Turberville, was here proffered to his numerous visitors, and suitably acknowledged. From this point the railway station at Bridgend was reached, and a long and very interesting day was brought to a close.

Monday, July 31.

This was the last excursion of the meeting, and was made to Caerleon and Raglan Castle. The party was very numerous, the Sunday's rest having restored those who had felt fatigued. At about 9.30 A.M. the train started for Newport, where carriages were in waiting to convey them to Caerleon (Isca Silurum). Here Mr. J. E. Lee of the Priory, and Mr. Woollett of Newport, met the party, and conducted them at once to the Museum, where the numerous examples of Roman remains gathered from the place and neighbourhood are preserved, and have been carefully arranged. Then followed the visit to the "Mound," the examination of the Roman walls, and of the amphitheatre known as "King Arthur's Round Table." Mr. Lee then invited the party to partake of refreshments at the Priory, and Mr. Clark, in returning thanks on behalf of the Institute, said some words of acknowledgment of the great services rendered to archæological pursuits by Mr. Lee during the last thirty years. Returning to Newport, carriages were taken at the Eastern Valleys Station for Raglan Footpath Station, which was reached at about 1.30 P.M. In the Castle grounds a commodious tent had been erected, in which an excellent luncheon was served; and after strolling over the castle and grounds, Mr. Clark gathered together the numerous assemblage in front of the great gateway, and standing upon the old table now placed in the spacious entrance court, gave a brief sketch of the ruins. He commenced by remarking upon the difference between the topography of a military or civil and an ecclesiastical building. In each they knew what to look for, but it was only in the latter that they knew where to look for it. Given the uses of a church, or the order of monks to which a monastic building belonged, and all was tolerably clear; but in a castle, though there must have been a hall, a kitchen, a gatehouse, a well, and a chapel, they were placed after no fixed rule, and their ruins could not always be identified. Here, however, so much of the building remained that there was no difficulty in pointing out its several parts. The keep, the gatehouse, the hall, the withdrawing and state rooms, the kitchen, all were in evidence; and although there were difficulties about the chapel, its actual site seemed to be well known.

Raglan was not like Caerphilly, a castle-palace, but a palace-castle, and one of very late date. It was built by the last of the Herberts and the first of the Somersets, who married the Herbert heiress. It was not necessary, in South Wales or Monmouthshire, to remind an audience of the greatness of the Herberts. At one time they numbered about thirty-five male branches, each possessing a landed estate in Wales, and very many of them had won their way to the peerage. Some considerable genealogical confusion had been produced by the absence of a regular surname, so that there were Herberts, and Thomases, and Raglans, and Progers, and Joneses, and many other names, each descended in the male line from the main stock. The Duke of Beaufort was the representative in the female line of the great Earl of Pembroke, the best known and most powerful of the race; but Mr. Herbert of Llanarth was a representative in the male line, and probably the only one in Monmouthshire.

Referring to a large plan provided by the keeper of the castle, Mr. Clark pointed out the various parts in some detail. He dwelt on the curious feature of a detached keep, the which vied with the round keep of Pembroke in dimensions and grandeur. The gridiron-like grooves over the entrance had been described as recesses for the pipes by which the well-known mechanician, the great Marquis of Worcester, supplied his water-works. They were, however, intended only to receive the frames of the two drawbridges when not in action; there were grooves precisely similar to be seen in the citadel at Verona, into which the drawbridges, for carriages and foot passengers, were still occasionally raised.

Next, pointing out the grand machicolations of the gate-house, Mr. Clark showed the exquisite workmanship of the windows and stone work of the state rooms, with the old Beaufort badge of the portcullis and their motto referring to it, of "Altera Securitas." He then pointed out the details of its military defences, the points in which it differed from the much earlier Castle of Caerphilly, and in which it resembled the palace-castle of Heidelberg, the type of all such structures.

The history of Raglan commenced and concluded with the civil wars, when it was attacked by Fairfax and defended by the Marquis of Worcester, a cavalier of the best and noblest type. It was unfortunate for the House of Beaufort that they found it necessary at the Restoration to shift their residence to the grand, but utterly unhistoric, Badminton; however, it was to their departure, and to the consequent neglect of the old walls, that was due the peculiar charm of Raglan, the verdure and luxuriance of the ivy that draped its walls, and made it far more lovely in its decay than it could ever have been in its prime.

The time at the disposal of the party was cut short by the necessity for returning to Cardiff in time for the conversazione at the Museum, so that much which would otherwise have been said was unavoidably omitted. The day, however, was splendid, and the greensward in its brightest verdure. Seldom has rural archæology been rendered so attractive.

The home journey was varied by returning *viâ* the Crumlin Viaduct, which enabled the strangers to the locality to see one of the greatest triumphs of modern engineering skill, and to get a glimpse of the fine scenery of the Vale of the Ebbw. A Conversazione in the Museum closed the proceedings of the day.

Tuesday, August 1.

At 10 A.M. the Historical Section met in the Nisi Prius Court of the Town Hall, E. A. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L., in the chair. A memoir by Mr. Floyd upon "The Haweye and Stradling Families" was read by the Secretary, upon which some discussion ensued, as the writer interfered considerably with the usually accepted histories of those families. This was followed by a paper on "The Sepulchral Monuments of Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire," by Mr. G. T. Clark, which dealt, not only with the existing memorials in those counties, but referred to those which had been destroyed, and to those of the worthies of the district which were existent in other parts of the kingdom. The Chairman made some favourable comments upon both the essays, and a vote of thanks having been passed to the writers, the meeting was dissolved.

At Noon the concluding meeting was held. The Marquis of Bute occupied the chair, and there was a numerous assembly of members of the Institute and visitors.

Mr. O. Morgan, M.P., moved the best thanks of the meeting to the Mayor and Corporation of Cardiff for the use of their handsome and commodious Town Hall. He regretted exceedingly that his health had prevented his taking so active a part in the meeting as he had hoped to have done, and dwelt upon the great advantage to the Institute in having so commodious a building placed at their disposal. He felt sure they would all recollect with pleasure the princely reception they had met with at the hands of the Lord of Caerphilly and the Mayor and Corporation of Cardiff. The motion was seconded by Mr. Burtt, and carried unanimously.

The Mayor of Cardiff, in acknowledging the vote, said it was not only gratifying to him, but to the other members of the Corporation, to find that the meeting had been so successful, and that the accommodation placed at the disposal of the Institute had met with their approval. He hoped that the Institute would have no cause to regret that their first visit to the Principality had been paid to the town of Cardiff.

The Rev. J. B. Deane proposed a vote of thanks to the writers of essays and addresses on the objects of the meeting. This was seconded by Mr. Mackie, and acknowledged by Mr. G. T. Clark.

Mr. C. Tucker moved a vote of thanks to the contributors of objects to the temporary museum, some of the chief of which he specified. This was seconded by Mr. R. R. Holmes, and responded to by Mr. Octavius Morgan.

The Very Rev. Canon Rock moved that the best thanks of the meeting be given to the noble President of the Meeting, the Mayor of Cardiff, the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, the Dean of Llandaff, and others, for the splendid and courteous hospitality afforded by them to the members of the Institute and the visitors during the meeting. At some length the Rev. Canon referred to the cordial and princely reception which the Institute had met with at the hands of the Marquis of Bute, and to the hospitable welcome accorded to them throughout the country they had visited. And though, he said, the Mayor of Cardiff was a Welshman, the members of the Institute would call him an Englishman. And they would re-cross the Severn with the feeling that there was to be met with in Wales a thorough and hearty English hospitality.

Mr. G. T. Clark seconded the motion, and spoke of the general character of the hospitable and kindly reception accorded to them, the examples of which would be too long to enumerate.

Signor T. G. Rivero, the Spanish Consul for Cardiff, said he ventured to say a few words with respect to the manner in which he, as a foreigner, considered the Institute had been received. The impression made upon his own mind was of so agreeable a nature that he felt he must express his thanks to those who had ministered to the welfare and comfort of all taking part in the transactions of the meeting. What he had seen and experienced would cause a revolution in his own opinions with respect to learned societies in England, learned Englishmen, and English people and English life in general.

The motion having been put to the meeting by the Hon. Secretary, was carried with acclamation.

The Marquis of Bute rose amidst loud applause, and, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said he felt half ashamed that the vote should have taken up three times the space of those which had preceded it. But in his acknowledgment he was speaking in behalf of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, of the Mayor and Corporation of Cardiff, of the Dean of Llandaff, of Mr. Lee of Caerleon, and of the others who had entertained the Institute. Some of those had already expressed the gratification they had experienced at having had the opportunity of receiving the Institute, and he might say for the others that they fully shared those feelings. And for himself he would repeat that if he had been able to give them pleasure, the advantage which accrued to him was greater than that obtained by them.

Mr. Burtt proposed a vote of thanks to the Local Committee for the care bestowed upon the preliminary arrangements, and, in so doing, highly complimented Mr. Waldron, the Secretary of that Committee, for the excellent manner in which those arrangements had been made. He regretted that Mr. Waldron, was prevented by a pressure of business, which had been accumulating during the time he had devoted to the interests of the Institute, from being present to hear how his exertions had been appreciated. The motion was seconded by the Rev. Canon Rock, and, having been put and carried, was acknowledged by Mr. Adams on behalf of Mr. Waldron and the Local Committee.

The Marquis of Bute then said: He rose to dissolve the present meeting, and to leave the chair in which the kindness of the meeting had placed him. In so doing, he had only to say about the meeting itself what had already been said by others, that he trusted its operations would be productive of good in that part of the world, particularly as regarded matters of historic interest. And he felt that he ought there almost to make reparation for the somewhat flippant joke he had made the other night upon the subject of antiquaries founded upon "The Antiquary" of Sir Walter Scott. But he hoped that what he had already intimated would rather be the result of the labours of the Archæological Institute than that which was so fancifully sketched out by the great novelist. Thanking them for their kindness, and apologizing for the inefficient discharge of his duties as President, he declared the present meeting of the Institute to be dissolved.

The Museum.

This was formed in the handsome Assembly Room of the Town Hall. An excellent collection was brought together, which, although highly interesting in many branches of Archaic lore, was less perfect in some respects than many of the temporary museums formed at the annual gatherings of the Institute. The arts of carving in ivory and of enamelling on copper were but sparingly represented, whilst early MSS. and historical documents were more than usually abundant and of considerable interest.

Lord Talbot de Malahide contributed numerous drawings of Celtic and other objects of an early period, from the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and some curious bronze ornaments. Mr. Lee, of Caerleon, sent numerous sketches of ideal restorations of the lake dwellings in Switzerland, and drawings of objects found there, together with many of the objects themselves. The Town Museum, Mr. Lukis and Mr. Traill sent flint and stone arrow and spear heads, chips and flakes; also a collection of such objects from Norway. The pre-historic section of archaeology was, however, but scantily represented in the temporary Museum. The Rev. W. H. Bathurst sent a large and remarkable collection of objects of the Roman period, found at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, together with drawings of other relics found there, and ground-plans, &c., of the discoveries made some years ago. They were the result of excavations on that site commenced by the late Right Hon. Charles Bragge Bathurst, about the year 1806. (See p. 174 of the present volume for a fuller account of the discoveries at Lydney.)

Mr. O. Morgan, M.P., exhibited a fine collection of Chamberlains' gilt keys, sixty-three in number, being the insignia of office of the Chamberlains of nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, from about A.D. 1690 to 1840, many being richly ornamented; a card purse of enamelled plaques, with portraits, and many other specimens of enamel; five specimens of Polish and Russian spoons of the sixteenth century; a chrismatory of rock crystal, and other interesting objects of that material; a compound dial, folding up, and requiring to be set; an excellent example of early printing, a Missal or Service Book, printed at Venice or Strasburg about 1500, a good specimen of large open type in red and black, with a title showing it had belonged to the House of Carthusians at Hereford, and in binding of the period; also a Book of Common Prayer, printed in London, by Jugge and Cawood, in 1560, with which are bound other religious works: Mr. Morgan contributed also Miniatures on ivory of Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of James I., afterwards King and Queen of Bohemia; represented standing on the Terrace of Heidelberg, and contemplating the magnificent castle palace they had just completed, 1619. Also a noble double cup of rock crystal, mounted in silver-gilt work; end of sixteenth century.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Llandaff exhibited a large number of MSS. of much interest and value. Amongst them a letter from the Abbot of Llantarnam to the Bishop of Llandaff, in 1465, with the abbot's seal attached, relating to the ordination of a priest; a letter from Miles Corbett, one of the judges on the trial of King Charles I., to William Spencer, of Bramley Grange, Yorkshire, dated 18th June, 1647; Major Spencer's commission in the Parliamentary army, 1648; pardon

granted by Charles II., 1662, to William Spencer, for having sheltered a regicide; and various other documents connected with the Spencer family.

Mrs. Ollivant, wife of the bishop, exhibited a large collection of engravings, drawings, lithographs, and photographs of various churches, castles, ruins, and objects of antiquity in the county of Glamorgan.

Miss Ollivant also sent to the museum a rare collection of autographs, occupying two volumes; a gold coin of Henry VI.; and several others, found in digging the foundations for the new buildings at the cathedral.

The Dean and Chapter of Llandaff exhibited a Latin address of Bishop Blethin to the Prebendaries of the Cathedral, with an appendix containing the ancient "consuetudines" of the Cathedral long lost and here lately found.

Miss Williams, daughter of the Dean of Llandaff, exhibited a Chelsea enamel box, with portrait of Sir G. R. Rodney.

Mr. Ready (of the British Museum) brought several Egyptian and other vases and urns, figures of terra cotta, locks and keys found in the Thames, rings of bronze, a jester's staff, a belt clasp, and other objects of bronze, a fine chasuble of English work, of the fifteenth century, &c.

Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth, sent some valuable manuscripts of great local interest. Amongst them were some of the Hengwrt Collection, once belonging to Robert Vaughan, the antiquary, of Merionethshire, who died in 1667; the "Sanct Graal," a Welsh manuscript of the time of Henry VII.; History of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table; Life of St. Cadoc, a manuscript of the fifteenth century; first edition of the Welsh translation of the Book of Common Prayer; a copy of the "Liber Landavensis," in the handwriting of Vaughan; Caxton's "Speculum Vitæ Christi," differing from the copy in the Museum.

The Rev. J. Bathurst Deane brought a small Roman vase, of peculiar decoration, found in Bath; several miniatures and other interesting objects of art, including a silver ring cut in facets, and a silver snuff-box, with medallion of Charles I.; and Mrs. Deane brought a collection of fans, Indian and European, of delicate execution.

Mr. G. T. Clark exhibited three good paintings on panel, portraits of Queen Elizabeth (by Zucchero), Queen Mary, and the Elector Palatine; also four Dutch pewter dishes, dated 1614, with engravings of workmen at their trades, and descriptive inscriptions.

Mr. Caldwell exhibited two chasubles, one remounted on gold cloth, with the arms of Robert Lord Fitzwalter, temp. Henry VII.; and another of red velvet, having the ground richly decorated with angels, stars, and fleurs-de-lis in cloth of gold.

Mr. Luard contributed several good silver-gilt and ivory tankards, sculptures in ivory, a rose-water dish, and other *articles de luxe* in silver gilt, an enamelled Japanese bowl, a Jade vase, a bronze elephant, and several other interesting *objets* of Oriental art.

The Mayor of Cardiff exhibited a handsome volume of old engravings and drawings of Cardiff Castle and other places in Glamorganshire, showing many and interesting changes in their appearance; also a volume, finely printed by John Kerver at Paris in 1521, entitled "Silva Nuptialis." Mr. R. O. Jones, of Fonmon Castle, sent numerous deeds of feoffment, &c., of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, chiefly relating to places in Glamorganshire. Mr. Knewstub contributed many rubbings of monumental brasses. The Rev. W. David sent a

portion of the door of Llanilterne Chapel in the parish of St. Fagans, with a large lock of the simplest possible construction, the key and works in good condition, perhaps thirteenth century. A British celt found in Greatwood, St. Fagans, and three flint arrow-heads.

Mr. B. Matthews exhibited a singular jug of early English ware, probably sixteenth century, found in digging a foundation in Cardiff. It is about 18 in. high, with a pale green glaze, ornamented with six attenuated figures, with heads of monkeys (?), apparently dancing. Several residents in Cardiff sent specimens of the potteries of Nantgarrow and Swansea, but nothing very special was shown. Mr. Seddon brought a drawing of richly decorated rood screen in Llangwm Church, of late decorated period. Mr. Heard sent a bronze sacring bell, about 7 in. high, richly ornamented in relief, inscribed "Mater Dei, memento mei:" "Petrus Ghineus me fecit 1571."

The agent of his Grace the Duke of Beaufort brought a variety of interesting relics from Raglan Castle; such as encaustic tiles, moulds for balls and shot; also fragments of lead pipes of peculiar form, relics of the remarkable waterworks constructed there by the celebrated Marquis of Worcester. An iron back plate (broken) of a fireplace, found in Cardiff, with the arms of Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, and with royal motto and supporters, and the motto of the garter, was exhibited by Mr. Clement Lucas.

Harding Giffard, Esq., Q.C., exhibited a most magnificent volume, presented to John Giffard, Esq., by King Charles II.. It is bound in a costly manner, with large corners, clasps, and plates of massive silver, and decorated within with highly coloured plates designed by Bloemart, Diepenbeck, De Broyer, Heemskerke, and other Dutch artists, and all engraved by Vischer. The Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and Psalms of David printed in England in 1679—80, folios. The Bible, or Old and New Testaments, printed at Amsterdam in 1679—824 folios.

The Rev. Augustus Morgan exhibited an English Bible, dated 1553; the Book of Common Prayer, 1560; the Psalter of London, 1561. Also, the "Bible in Englishe," London, 1553; Cranmer's version, an edition of extreme rarity. Homilies, called Certain Sermons, first printed in 1560; unknown at the British Museum.

Mrs. Traherne exhibited a picture of Our Lord, from a Russian-Greek church at Kirtch, brought home at the time of the Crimean war; curious playing-cards, representing the "Popish Plot" of Titus Oates; medal of Dr. Sancroft and the seven bishops, imprisoned by James II.; miniature of John Locke; curious inventories, medals, &c.; roll of the manors of the Earl of Pembroke in Glamorganshire, A.D. 1597; and Ministers' accounts of Henry, Earl of Pembroke's possessions in 40th Elizabeth.

Captain E. J. Bedford, R.N., sent various objects from Iona, and from the islands of Harris and Lewis. Also, a small cup of unbaked clay, of a dark-brown colour, and of a kind still in use by the inhabitants of the island of Tyree, on the west coast of Scotland.

An extremely elegant mace of silver, dated 1633, in good preservation, was exhibited by the Portreeve and Town Clerk of the borough of Llantrissent, the decoration being four caryatides, supporting a crown topped with a series of fleur-de-lis. Also the original charter of the

borough, 3 Henry VI., granted by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Lord le Despenser, and Lord of Glamorgan, great seal appended: Beauchamp impaling Le Despenser, and counter-seal; Beauchamp impaling Newburgh; Earl of Warwick, and Clare impaling Le Despenser.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Cardiff Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—J. Henderson, Esq., 5*l.*; Col. C. H. Tynte, 1*l.* 1*s.*; G. T. Clark, Esq., 5*l.*; Rev. E. David, 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. Bruce, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; T. Edmunds, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. O. Jones, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; O. J. Jones, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; F. C. Stacey, Esq., 5*l.*; Ev. Williams, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Howel Gwyn, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; G. W. Nicholl, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. E. Lee, Esq., 3*l.*; The Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff, 5*l.*; Rev. J. Griffith, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Griffith Philip, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. Pride, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; H. S. Giffard, Esq., 5*l.*; The National Provincial Bank, 5*l.*; The Mayor of Cardiff, 5*l.*; H. Heard, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. W. Griffith, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; C. Thompson, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. Alexander, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Major J. P. Turbervile, 5*l.*; C. H. Page, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Chas. Luard, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; O. Morgan, Esq., M.P., 5*l.*; The Lord Bishop of Llandaff, 5*l.*; Sir E. Smirke, 2*l.*; Rev. W. David, 1*l.* 1*s.*; E. W. David, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; J. Brogden, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. Way, Esq., 2*l.*; Professor Westmacott, 1*l.*; C. S. Greaves, Esq., 2*l.*; W. B. Watkins, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. Bird, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Rev. H. H. Richards, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Col. J. T. Crichton Stuart, M.P., 5*l.*; Messrs. Hill & Sons, 5*l.*; J. McConochie, Esq., 2*l.*

Archæological Intelligence.

The arrangements for the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Southampton are progressing satisfactorily. A cordial spirit prevails among the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, and good promises of support have been received from all parts of the county. The Presidents of sections are proposed to be:—Antiquities, Major-Gen. Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey; Architecture, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.; History, the Lord Henry Scott, M.P.

Among the pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy in the first months of the present year, was a portrait called in the catalogue "Lady Jane Grey." This name is painted on the background of the picture itself, in modern letters, and cannot be taken as authoritative. Attention has been called, however, to a shield or, rather, lozenge of arms above the right shoulder of the figure. They consist of the coat of Archbishop Cranmer, *argent on a chevron azure, between three pelicans in piety sable, three cinquefoils, or*: impaling, *or, a spread eagle sable*, dimidiated with, *bendy or and sable*: evidently a foreign coat. Can these arms refer to the widow of Cranmer, a German lady, the niece of his friend Osiander? Her surname is apparently not mentioned by any English authority.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

Trinity College, Cambridge, *December* 16, 1871.

Sir,—I should feel much obliged if you could afford me space for the correction of the following misapprehensions in Mr. Parker's review of my book on Rome and the Campagna.

I. Mr. Parker has mistaken the meaning of the opening sentences which he quotes from the book. The remarks I have there made do not apply to the stone dug from the quarry on the Aventine, but to the "harder kind of tufa of which a great part of the hills of Rome consists." The whole of his criticism of this first paragraph rests upon a misapprehension of my meaning.

II. In the sentences following his account of the Servian walls, Mr. Parker says, "Mr. Burn's plan of the agger of Servius Tullius (which he calls the Servian wall) is very incorrect, or rather incomplete. He does not see that this agger or bank turns at a sharp angle at each end." Here there are two misapprehensions: (1) the plan on p. 49 is distinctly called "Servian agger." (2). The curves of the embankment at both ends are distinctly given.

III. Mr. Parker thinks that "Mr. Burn's plans are almost entirely copied from Canina."

There is *one* plan in the book, that on p. 306, which is taken entirely from Canina and acknowledged, but none of the others are taken from that source. The plan of the Mons Oppius on p. 233 is also taken partly from Palladio and partly from Canina, as stated in the description underneath.

IV. Mr. Parker observes, "*Many* of the woodcuts are evidently taken from Mr. Parker's series with which most of the recent visitors to Rome are familiar." But further on he says, "*Most* of the subjects in Mr. Burn's plates are what are usually called the 'hack subjects' in Rome, familiar to all those who know Rome and the *usual photographs* of it. The *few* that are novel are taken from Mr. Parker's series." There are eighty-five illustrations in the book, and of these *three* are taken from Mr. Parker's series. The three so taken appear on pp. 50, 142, 256. My obligations to Mr. Parker are acknowledged in the preface.

V. Mr. Parker says, "Mr. Burn puts his Porta Trigemina in the Forum Boarium a quarter of a mile to the north of the real site." This is also a mistake, for on p. 51 of Rome and the Campagna it is stated, "The site of the Porta Trigemina was between the north-western corner of the Aventine and the river," and in a note on that passage, "Later excavations have proved that the Porta Trigemina was at the Salaria, and that the Pons Sublicius was close to it." Mr. Parker has I fear been misled by the position of the Pons Sublicius in the Ichnographia at the end of the book to which a mark of doubt is appended.

VI. The paragraph quoted by Mr. Parker on page 80 of the Journal, beginning "It is well known," and ending "the Emporium," is not taken from "Rome and the Campagna;" and I think that Mr. Parker has inadvertently marked it with inverted commas, as it appears to be his own statement, and is certainly not mine.

VII. Mr. Parker says, "The great wall against the cliff of the Aventine, p. 50, is not 'one of the Servian walls,' as Mr. Burn calls it." The wall in question is not called in my book "one of the Servian walls," but the title given to it is "Servian wall on the Aventine," which is explained in the text to mean that it is regarded as a portion of the stone wall with which, according to Livy and Dionysius, Servius Tullius surrounded the whole city.

VIII. On the Porta Asinaria Mr. Parker remarks, "This view (p. 66) also shows the Porta Asinaria, and it is curious to see Mr. Burn stating on the opposite page that this old gate is unfortunately hidden by some buildings in front of it." The meaning of the passage in question has been misapprehended by Mr. Parker; for though it is true that the *towers* on each side of the gate are still standing, and are represented in the woodcut, the *gate itself* is blocked up and hidden by modern buildings.

IX. In quoting my note in the Porta Ardeatina (p. 69, Note 1), Mr. Parker has misapprehended my meaning. The note was not written, as he seems to think, to express dissent from his views. If the passage to which the note is appended be referred to, it will be seen that the construction of the gateway is distinctly stated to be of "an early period," and I have no doubt that Mr. Parker is approximately right in referring it to the first century. I cannot, however, assent to the inference which Mr. Parker draws from the early date of the gateway, viz., that it "proves that the outer boundary of Rome was then in the same line as the wall of Aurelian in the third century." The gateway in question was evidently not built in the first instance as part of a line of fortifications, but belonged to some building incorporated into Aurelian's wall. Nibby describes it as "appartenente a qualche fabbrica del primo secolo del Impero." In quoting Nibby I had overlooked this sentence, and am obliged to Mr. Parker for pointing out that Nibby must have written I and not 10.

ROBERT BURN.

THE HAARLEM LEGEND OF THE INVENTION OF PRINTING BY LOURENS JANSZOON COSTER, CRITICALLY EXAMINED. By Dr. A. Van der Linde. Translated by J. H. Hessels, with an Introduction and a Classified List of Costerian Incunabula. London. Blades. 1871.

Mr. Hessels, who has been some years in this country, and is already favourably known to many members of the Archæological Institute for his remarkable acquaintance with the early history of printing, has conferred a great favour upon scientific bibliography by his translation of Dr. Van der Linde's able work. And to our members who had the opportunity of seeing the remarkable collection of early printed books brought together in the rooms of the Institute in May last, a notice of this work is due as a supplement to the valuable and entertaining discourse delivered by Mr. Winter Jones on the occasion of that exhibition. (See p. 1 of this volume.)

We need not re-state a question which has, for at least two centuries, engaged the attention of every student of the history of typography. The claims of Gutenberg and his associates rest upon too firm a foundation to require any additional support; but it is very satisfactory to have, in a convenient form, all the points at issue fairly set out and clearly disposed of, as they are in this volume. Both Dr. Van der Linde and his translator are natives of Haarlem, and interested, if any one can now be interested in the promulgation of a falsehood, in supporting the belief that Coster, their fellow-townsman, was a printer of books before Fust and Schöffer appropriated the invention of Gutenberg. Many distinguished bibliographers, both here and on the Continent, committed themselves to this view; and the people of Haarlem put up statues and monuments, the last in 1856, to the honour of Coster. In an amusing chapter, near the end of his work, Dr. Van der Linde traces what he calls the "metamorphosis of the legend;" and by way of pointing out, most easily, the character of his book, we may give a few of the heads under which, in this chapter, he has summarised the whole story. First, in a pedigree drawn up in 1546, it is asserted that Lourens Janszoon Coster brought the first "print" into the world, a hundred years before—namely in 1446. Guicciardini, in 1567, says, "The Haarlemers assert that the art of printing was invented in their town, and brought, after the death of the inventor, who left the art unfinished, to Mentz by a servant, who was received there with open arms. I don't know, however, whether this is true." Next comes the famous statement of Junius, made towards the close of the same sixteenth century, that a certain Lourens Janszoon Coster invented, on the occasion of a walk in the Hout in 1440, the art of printing from wooden blocks; that he printed a Dutch "Spiegel" with it, and that he afterwards used metal letters; that, finally, on Christmas night in 1441 he was robbed by his servant Johan, supposed to be Fust, who carried off the invention to Mentz. Omitting some intervening authorities of minor importance, we have then the story given by Scriverius in 1628, in which Lourens Jans-

zoon is called Sheriff of Haarlem in 1431. The story of Scriverius is in several places inconsistent with that of Junius, and is the more easily disposed of by Dr. Van der Linde. It is true that a sheriff of Haarlem, in 1431, was named Lourens Janszoon ; but it is also true that this civic worthy, who was by trade an innkeeper, died in 1436. It is, therefore, impossible that he was a chandler in 1441, and that he invented printing in that year, allowing, that is, that printing *was* invented in 1441. But the most circumstantial statement is that of Seiz, in 1740. He adopts and corrects the stories of his predecessors, and goes so far as to name the books printed by Coster ; and so the legend grows and grows, is favourably received in many places besides Haarlem, and is adopted by Meerman, Koning, De Vries, Van Lennep, and many other authorities of various degrees of weight, while the subject of it alternately figures as an innkeeper, a chandler, a sheriff, and a sexton, until in May 1870, an article, written by Dr. Van der Linde, finally disposed of all the stories by showing their inconsistency with each other, and with authentic documents, nay even with the printed books hitherto attributed to the sheriff innkeeper, or the chandler sacristan. Who printed these books of *Donatus* and these *Spiegels* is a mystery yet to be solved; but it seems pretty certain, after a perusal of Mr. Hessels' preface, and after even a cursory glance at Dr. Van der Linde's part of the work, that they are later in date than has often been supposed, that they are the work of an unknown printer, and that all the stories given in the Cologne Chronicle, in Junius, in Scriverius, and others, are absolutely false. It must not, however, be supposed that there is nothing else of interest in a closely printed volume of almost 200 pages. On the contrary, it is full of collateral matter, and may be studied with advantage on a large number of the questions which will disturb the mind of every beginner in this most difficult and obscure branch of history.

W. J. L.

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